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THOMPSON'S

LECTURES AND DEBATES

On Slavery.

49. 8. 0.

Slavery



*Rec^d 24 Dec 1839
Jas. S. King Anti-Slavery*

1832

[illegible]









LECTURES
OF
GEORGE THOMPSON,

WITH A FULL REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN MR. THOMPSON
AND MR. BORTHWICK, THE PRO-SLAVERY AGENT, HELD AT
THE ROYAL AMPHITHEATRE, LIVERPOOL, (ENG.) AND
WHICH CONTINUED FOR SIX EVENINGS WITH UN-
ABATED INTEREST : COMPILED FROM VARIOUS
ENGLISH EDITIONS.—ALSO, A BRIEF

HISTORY OF HIS CONNECTION

WITH THE

ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE

IN ENGLAND,

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

✓
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MR. THOMPSON IN ENGLAND.

IN the spring of 1833, I was sent to England as the representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to undeceive the philanthropists of that country, (who had been misled by Elliot Cresson,) in relation to the character and designs of the American Colonization Society, and to enlist their moral energies for the extinction of American slavery. Convicted of double-dealing, cowardice, and imposture, Mr. Cresson soon afterward left England in disgrace, and returned to a country, whose prejudices and oppressions enable him to pursue his mischievous work with more facility and success. Most happily for my mission, I found on my arrival in London, a large body of anti-slavery delegates, the élite of the cause, assembled from various parts of the kingdom, to watch the progress of the Emancipation Bill through Parliament. A majority of this body were highly influential members of the Society of Friends—among whom it will suffice to name Josiah Forster, William Allen, Robert Forster, James Cropper, Joseph John Gurney, William Forster, Richard Barrett, Richard Ball, Emanuel Cooper, Joseph Cooper, Joseph Sturge, Joseph Eaton, and Arthur West, as specimens of the elevated character of the whole body of delegates. Associated with these dis-

tinguished philanthropists and pure minded christians, was **GEORGE THOMPSON**, esteemed and beloved by them all, and taking a conspicuous part in their deliberations and discussions—the champion of liberty, who, in this country, has been branded as ‘a miserable creature,’ ‘a scoundrel,’ ‘an incendiary,’ ‘a cut-throat,’ ‘a foreign emissary,’ and ‘a fugitive from justice’! The acme of calumny was attained when it was said of the immaculate Redeemer, that he was ‘a wine bibber and a glutton,’ and that ‘he had a devil:’ all surprise may cease, therefore, at the defamation of others, however virtuous and upright. It was in *London* that **MR. THOMPSON** was thus honorably associated, thus highly esteemed, and thus signally popular—the very city from which, it is said, by the unutterably base journalists of this country, he fled in disgrace to these shores! Although the pro-slavery party were as hostile as selfishness, prejudice and hatred could make them to the cause and the friends of emancipation, and although they particularly dreaded the unrivalled abilities, irresistible eloquence, and unexampled success of **MR. THOMPSON** as a public lecturer, yet not a whisper was heard against his reputation, not the least stain was thrown upon the resplendent brightness of his career. No: calumny was dumb, effrontery stood abashed, and malice was powerless. It was left for the human hyenas and jackalls of America, who delight to listen to negro groans, to revel in negro blood, and to batten upon negro flesh, to rend a character as fair as uprightness, and as lovely as benevolence itself. They vainly supposed, that the billows of the Atlantic would hide their malice from detection, and that distance

would allow them to be ferocious with impunity. The folly of their conduct was as great as its enormity. It was perpetrated, too, for a diabolical purpose—to perpetuate the worse than Egyptian thralldom of more than two millions of their own countrymen, who are by law and usage transformed, with their offspring, from rational, accountable, immortal beings, into goods and chattels, and implements of husbandry !

MR. THOMPSON had just returned from a tour through the kingdom, which was followed by the most brilliant results in favor of the immediate abolition of colonial slavery. His lectures had been every where thronged to overflowing, and the enthusiasm of his audiences was boundless. The West India party had sent into the field against MR. THOMPSON, a person by the name of PETER BORTHWICK, well skilled in artificial oratory, fluent in debate, stoically self-possessed, of considerable tact and ingenuity, with a face of bronze, and a heart of stone, and a faithful copyist of him ‘ who was a liar from the beginning.’ The combatants met repeatedly, for public disputation, in Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other places. The interest that was excited in these discussions arose to a high degree of intensity, but the victory was never for a single moment dubious. BORTHWICK was met and foiled at every point, with amazing celerity and overwhelming effect ; and in a short time he as studiously shunned, as he had sought, a contest with his superior opponent. Yet the former was no mean antagonist, either in adroitness or ability.

MR. BORTHWICK had confidently declared, that he would follow MR. THOMPSON from city, to city, from

village to village, and from one end of the kingdom to the other; but he relied too much upon simple lying and gross fiction,* and was comparatively ignorant of

* The following anecdote, related to me by a friend in London, who was an eye-witness of the scene, is given as a specimen of BORTHWICK'S effrontery. One evening, he was holding forth upon colonial slavery to a large audience in Edinburgh or Glasgow, wholly unaware of the presence of MR. THOMPSON, who sat taking notes in a remote corner of the hall. In the course of his lecture, he boldly asserted, that, by a law of Jamaica, if a slave should testify that his master had maltreated him, *his naked declaration* would suffice to cause the master to be heavily fined, although the accusation should be groundless! To confirm his statement, he said he held the law in his hand, which he would read to the assembly, if any one present should call for it. He then paused, as if to afford an opportunity for the request to be made, and was about to proceed, when MR. THOMPSON audibly said, '*Read the law!*' Though taken by surprise, BORTHWICK immediately recognized his opponent, and coolly replied: 'The honorable gentleman cries—Read the law! Does he doubt my readiness to read it? I *will* read it, if he should again urge his request: if not, I will proceed with my lecture.' Again MR. THOMPSON responded more emphatically, '*READ THE LAW!*' The audience now became considerably agitated. BORTHWICK himself was dashed, (for he had no law to read,) and turning to MR. THOMPSON imploringly said, 'I appeal to the honorable gentleman, whether it is fair to interrupt the lecture, and to agitate this meeting, by pertinaciously insisting upon the reading of the law. Have I not declared that I hold the law in my hand? Have I not referred distinctly to its provisions? I pledge my word that it shall be given to the public. Ought not this to satisfy the gentleman? I throw myself upon his courtesy and kindness: will he allow me to proceed without further interruption?' Once more, in a clear tone, MR. THOMPSON responded, '*READ THE LAW!*' The pro-slavery portion of the audience, seeing the terrible dilemma into which their champion was brought, and true to their character all over the world, now raved and stormed at Mr. T., and vehemently cried out, 'Down, sir! down, sir! Out with him! out with him!' The chairman, too, was rampant with vexation, and ordered Mr. T. to be silent, or he would call for the police officers to take him out of the house—BORTHWICK, all the while, locking unutterable things. During this extraordinary hubbub, MR. THOMPSON stood with much calmness and dignity, and turning to those around him, said determinately, 'Turn him out! Who will turn me out? Will you,

the intellectual and moral strength of his formidable opponent. On his part, the aspect of the conflict was soon changed from offensive to defensive. The last attempt on the part of MR. THOMPSON, to confront MR. BORTHWICK before a public audience, was made while I was in England. The cities of Bath and Bristol were the strong holds of the pro-slavery party, and they contributed liberally to the support of MR. BORTHWICK. A splendid service of plate had just been presented to him

sir? or you, sir? or you, sir?' Then as they recoiled, addressing himself to the chairman, he continued—'It looks well in *you*, sir, to talk of forcing me from this hall! Have you so soon forgotten that to me you are indebted for having been saved from a violent expulsion, a few evenings since, in this city, for your turbulent conduct, at one of my lectures? When some of my auditors exclaimed, 'Turn him out!' I said, 'No—let him remain; nay, let him be heard. If *he* is thrust out, *I* shall also leave.' And now, sir, regardless of this timely interference in your behalf, you threaten to expel me from this assembly! And why? Have I behaved disorderly? No. Have I taken a liberty that was not proffered? No. MR. BORTHWICK said that his statement concerning certain features of West India slavery was derived from a law that he held in his hand, which, if any were skeptical, he would read. Confident there was no such law in existence, I repeatedly requested him to *read* the law. This is the head and front of my offending. If he had fulfilled his promise, there would have been no disturbance. If he has the law, why does he not read it? The audience must now be satisfied that MR. BORTHWICK has promised more than he is able to perform; and, consequently, that his glowing description of the happy condition of the enslaved negro is drawn from his imagination, rather than from the statute-book. If he shall finish his lecture without reading the law, he will have succeeded by his labors this evening in bringing condemnation upon himself and his cause. To give him a chance, therefore, to rescue both, if possible, for the last time I call upon him to READ 'THE LAW.'

The whole of this scene cannot be adequately described. Order was at length restored—poor BORTHWICK was confounded, and wound up his lecture as speedily as possible, still persisting that there *was* such a law, but he had unfortunately mislaid it. It should certainly be forthcoming at another time.' That time never came!

in the former city, for his advocacy of colonial slavery, and Bath was now his chosen place of residence, in which he was ignobly figuring as the 'lion of the day.' MR. THOMPSON had long been anxious to deliver a lecture in that city, although he was aware of the disadvantages under which he must labor as the advocate of emancipation. Having made his arrangements accordingly, we left London together, in the stage-coach early in the evening, and rode all night, and just as morning dawned entered Bath, experiencing the bodily depression usually arising from a sleepless night and a long journey. As we rode through various streets, large placards upon the walls met our eyes, informing the public that MR. GEORGE THOMPSON would reply to MR. BORTHWICK's lecture at 12 o'clock of that day. MR. THOMPSON had not seen the lecture alluded to, and it was with difficulty he obtained a copy of it in season for perusal, before he went to the place of meeting to reply to it! Thus fatigued, and thus unprepared, he was called to stand up, for the first time, before a severely critical and highly intellectual assembly in the Athens of England! He had scarcely finished his brief exordium, before his physical depression was changed to vigorous action; and for more than three hours, an affluent stream of eloquence, widening and deepening in its course, was poured from the exhaustless fountain of his mind. His auditors were evidently taken by surprise. They went (very many of them at least) to cavil, not to applaud—to depress the orator by their coolness, not to animate him by their enthusiasm. But their half equivocal ejaculations of 'hear! hear!' at the commencement, were soon succeeded by loud cheers. As

he rose to the climax of his powers; the house rang with thunders of applause. In the course of his lecture, he paused repeatedly, and thanking them for their very flattering reception; which he ascribed to their interest in the great cause of human rights, intimated that he would bring his remarks to a close, lest he should trespass upon their time and patience. But the cries of 'No! no! Go on! go on!' were unanimous, and encouraged him to proceed. At length, nature demanded relief: the powerful and long-continued action of his mind shattered its fleshly tabernacle, and he could speak no longer. It was, in truth, a masterly effort. I cannot conceive how he could have improved it by long deliberation, either in the delicacy of its satire, the force of its reasoning, or the splendor of its declamation. **MR. BORTHWICK** was challenged to discuss the subject of slavery in Bath, but wisely declined.

The qualifications of **MR. THOMPSON**, as a lecturer, filled my mind with admiration. His person was tall and graceful; his social manners captivating; his voice of great compass, and very pleasant in its lower tones; his action natural—at times vehement—yet generally governed by oratorical rules; his elocution beautiful, spontaneous, irresistible. Especially did he excel in debate: he could do more for himself and his cause with **MR. BORTHWICK**, than without him: and he always preferred to have an antagonist, if one could be found. He had the faculty of 'thinking on his legs' faster than any other speaker I had ever heard. But it was not his quickness of perception, nor his fluency of speech, nor his brilliancy of retort, upon which he placed reliance. He felt that the cause which he es-

poused was invincible, inasmuch as it was based upon the rock of TRUTH, supported by the pillars of JUSTICE and MERCY, and patronized by GOD. He was strong in faith—that faith which is as an anchor to the soul, both sure and steadfast—that faith which has so often overcome the world. His appeals were made to the CHRISTIANITY of Great Britain. He depicted slavery as a comprehensive system of soul-murder. If he alluded to the physical sufferings of the slaves, he did so rather in confirmation of his charges of animal cruelty against the planters, than to excite the highest indignation of his audience. He knew that he was addressing a professedly moral and religious people; and he rightly judged, that they would regard an outrage done to the intellect and soul of a human being, as transcending every other in enormity. It was his great aim, therefore, to establish the equality, exalt the value, and vindicate the immortality of the slave. For that despised and fettered victim, the heavens and the earth were created, as much as for patriarchs, prophets and apostles. For him, equally with the rest of mankind, God said, ‘LET THERE BE LIGHT.’ For him, the sun and the moon and stars were ordained to shine in the firmament. For him, God commanded the earth to bring forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit after his kind;—the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth, after his kind. For him, God said, ‘Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth.’ To his dominion were subjected the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and every living thing that moveth



upon the earth. And, finally, for him the Lord of glory descended from heaven, was scorned and buffeted, and crucified upon the cross, to redeem him from the thralldom of sin, and make him an heir of God, and a joint heir with himself. It was thus that this distinguished advocate lifted up the down-trodden slave to an equality with the highest of the human race : and when he vividly portrayed the awful guilt of those who were plunging him into an abyss of degradation, depriving him of knowledge, and ruining his soul by a systematic process, a *Christian* audience could not be otherwise than moved to tears, roused to indignant remonstrance, and inspired to labor for his deliverance. I trust it will be remembered, throughout the mighty struggle that is now going on in this country, that it was upon *the shoulders of Christianity*, the anti-slavery cause was carried triumphantly to the goal of emancipation.

As the bill for the abolition of Colonial Slavery had passed both houses of Parliament, previous to my embarkation for the United States, and as the long protracted contest in England was about drawing to a close, it occurred to me, that if I could succeed in inducing MR. THOMPSON to visit America, and co-operate with the little band of abolitionists who were there struggling against wind and tide, my mission would be crowned with the highest success.

One day as I was dining at the house of THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON,* in London, our conversation naturally turned upon the state of the abolition question in the United States. In the course of many inquiries, he

* The successor of WILBERFORCE in Parliament,

kindly remarked, that, as the friends of negro-emancipation in England had nearly accomplished their work in the Colonies, they would soon be enabled to give their sympathies and aid to their brethren in America, in a more direct and efficient manner than they had hitherto done; and he was sure they would readily do what they could, consistently with duty, the relations that subsisted between the two countries, &c. 'In what way, then, Mr. Garrison,' he inquired, 'can we best assist your cause?' '*By giving us George Thompson,*' I replied. 'But,' he asked, 'would not there be strong prejudices excited against him, on account of his being an Englishman? Do you think he could obtain a fair hearing before the American people? Would not the slaveholders, especially, and their violent adherents, endeavor to inflame the jealousy of the nation, and misrepresent the real object of his mission?' To these questions I replied, that the coming of Mr. THOMPSON among us would undoubtedly stir up the bile of all those who were opposed to the abolition of slavery; that he might expect to encounter severe ridicule and bitter denunciation; that it would not be safe for him (as it was not safe for any New-Englander who was an abolitionist) to travel and lecture in the slave States; and that he would have to take his chance—probably an unequal chance—with the rest of us who were proscribed for our abhorrence of the slave system. Still, I believed he would find opportunities to speak in public, especially in New-England, as often as he could desire; and I felt confident, that whenever and wherever he should succeed in making himself heard, he would disarm prejudice, extort admiration, and multiply converts

to our cause ; and that he would finally remove every obstacle in his path, arising from his transatlantic origin. As to his personal safety in New-England, I did not think there would be any hazard. How little did I then imagine, that, such was the ferocious spirit which slavery had generated among the sons of the pilgrims, MR. THOMPSON would soon be compelled to secrete himself from the daggers of a people, boasting continually of LIBERTY and EQUALITY, and proudly living within sight of Bunker Hill, for simply inculcating 'the self-evident truths' contained in their own Declaration of Independence ! How little did I then anticipate, that, even in Boston, 'the wealthy and respectable' portion of the community would riotously assemble together, at mid-day, in the broad sunlight of heaven, to tar and feather, and perhaps barbarously put to death, a foreign philanthropist, whose only aim was to assist them in driving the monster oppression from their shores ! How impossible was it for me then to suppose, that the time was rapidly approaching when Bostonians would be so recreant to the character of their patriotic forefathers, so lost to all sense of shame, so greedy of the gain of unrighteousness, and so destitute not only of the principles of justice, but even of the common instincts of humanity, as to rush *en masse* into Faneuil Hall, their old CRADLE OF LIBERTY, and there, in the delirium of passion, brand the advocates of universal emancipation as traitors to their country, eulogize the robbers of the poor and needy as patriotic citizens, and cheer the memory of WASHINGTON, *because he was a slaveholder !* Little did I imagine, that the time was speedily coming when the freedom of speech and of the press would be

deemed a treasonable offence; when the U. S. mail would be plundered by a committee of respectable and affluent citizens in the open daylight of heaven, not only with impunity, but with the approbation of the people; when large rewards for the abduction of northern citizens would be offered in all parts of the south; when applications would be made by Governors of southern States to those of northern States, to deliver up individuals who were neither fugitives from justice, or guilty of any misdemeanor, that they might be put to an ignominious death; when northern citizens at the south would be arrested and condemned illegally, on suspicion of being opposed in principle to slavery, and cruelly scourged or 'lynched,' (i. e. gibbeted by a mob,) and the murderers suffered to go unmolested by the courts; when the President of the United States would urge upon Congress the duty of passing another ALIEN AND SEDITION LAW, for the perpetuity of the slave system; and when a Bill would be reported in the Senate, making it an offence worthy of fine or imprisonment in any postmaster in a slave State, who should knowingly deliver or circulate any letter, newspaper, tract or pamphlet, containing sentiments hostile to slavery! No: corrupt and despotic as I knew my country to be, and thoroughly infected with the poison of negro oppression as was her entire system, yet I had no anticipation of the occurrence of events so dreadful and suicidal as these.

MR. BUXTON pleasantly remarked, that, if I thought they could obtain a hearing at the north, we might have not only MR. THOMPSON, but all their abolition lecturers, if desirable. He also said, that it was his inten-

tion to address a letter to the people of the United States upon the subject of slavery, which I urged him to write without delay.

At my next interview with MR. THOMPSON, I frankly stated to him my views and feelings. Novel and startling as was my proposition, it made at once a deep impression upon his benevolent mind, and he promised to give it all that consideration which its importance merited. It was an extraordinary sacrifice which he was invited to make—a sacrifice of personal comfort, safety, emolument, reputation, home, relations, friends, and country. What trust in God, what love for the human race, what sympathy for the outcasts and the dumb, did it require! How few, how very few, even among the professed followers of Christ, are prepared to make a much smaller sacrifice! Ye who love your native country, say, is it a small matter to be exiled from her shores? Ye who feel and sing, that ‘there is no place like home, be it ever so humble,’ tell me, is it nothing to be severed from it by a boundless ocean, and to have all the fibres of your affections torn asunder? Ye who are holding continual intercourse with kindred and friends, and enjoying the delightful satisfaction of meeting in your daily walks familiar countenances and native forms—declare, how many pangs would it cost you to absent yourselves from their society, and sojourn in a strange land where you would be ‘alike unknowing and unknown?’ Ye who, as the darkness of night deepens and spreads over your abodes, lie down at ease and in safety, with none to molest or make you afraid—answer, would it be pastime voluntarily to surround yourselves, your wives and your little ones, with afflictions, necessities, distresses,

tumults, and to be in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of tyrants, in perils of a foreign land, in perils in the city, and in perils among false brethren? Ye who possess an honorable reputation, and swim upon the full tide of a well-earned popularity, and hear the voice of panegyric every where vocal in your behalf—is it easy, even in obedience to the promptings of duty, to turn your backs upon the scenes of your triumphs, and the applauses of a grateful people—to seek a land in which you shall instantly become of no reputation, and be ranked among the offscouring of the earth, and be branded with every hateful epithet, and hunted as a wild beast by a blood-thirsty populace? Yet such were the sacrifices and perils which MR. THOMPSON was invited to encounter: and what but THE LOVE OF CHRIST CONSTRAINING HIM could have induced him finally to take up so heavy a cross as this? How many plausible objections might have been started to the mission, if he had been disposed to shrink from its perils, or evade its mortifications! He was a foreigner; the experiment was a novel one; it might needlessly jeopard the happiness and safety of his family; his advocacy might do more harm than good; there were many important moral enterprises in England which needed his efforts; there was no lack of talent or zeal enlisted in the anti-slavery cause in the United States, &c. &c. Minds of little faith, and of great timorousness, might start such difficulties in favor of themselves or of others; but GEORGE THOMPSON never once thought of sheltering himself behind such coverts. It was not the hardship of exile, passionately attached as he was to his native country; nor the pain of separation from his kindred;



nor the loss of reputation and comfort ; nor the perils of the great deep ; nor the certainty of encountering the scorn and persecution of a proud and oppressive people ; that made him pause, and deliberately consider the proposition which was made to him, in behalf of the friends of the slaves across the Atlantic. Was the cause, which he was invited to espouse, of greater moment than any other which presented itself ? Could he hope to be more useful in it than in a subordinate enterprise ? Would such a mission be in accordance with the spirit of the gospel of Christ ? Was he qualified to sustain it ? These were the great questions which occupied the thoughts of MR. THOMPSON, and which, in his view, included all other considerations.

The first question he could readily answer in the affirmative. There was no conceivable interest, appertaining to a human being, either for time or eternity, either affecting his body or soul, which was not bound up in the cause of the slave. Slavery was the transformation of man, with all his faculties and powers, into a beast, a machine, an article of merchandize. It was full of mortal woe, and the wreck of immortality. It was the entire subversion of the moral government of the universe, the frustration of God's design in the creation of man, the daily crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Slavery was practically a state of atheism on the part of the masters, and of heathenism as it regarded the slaves. If the whole man was ruined by it, what other cause contemplated the rescue of more than the whole man ? Invention—science—the arts—letters—self-government—progressive improvement—domestic happiness—private and public safety—national union—honor and re-

noun—freedom of conscience, of speech, of the press, of choice, of locomotion—individual liberty—the sacred relations of life—the circulation of the scriptures—the triumph of the gospel—all these depended upon the extinction of slavery. No other cause embraced so many particulars.

The astonishing success which had already crowned his labors in Great Britain, and his familiarity with the subject of slavery, in all its legal, physical and moral relations, authorised him to believe, that his usefulness could not be enlarged by the prosecution of an inferior enterprise, however excellent in itself. He was now better qualified than ever to renew the warfare against slavery, inasmuch as his experience and knowledge were greater than when he first enlisted in the service.

The third question was affirmatively answered by his heart and his understanding, as soon as it was propounded. His mission would be, physically and spiritually, intellectually and morally, the identical mission of the Son of God—to bind up the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to those who were bound. It was authorised by the command of the risen Saviour—‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.’ An English Christian may as properly visit America, and labor for the subversion of slavery, as an American christian may go to India, and toil for the downfall of idolatry: so Jesus Christ determines. His gospel is aggressive, and it disregards all territorial distinctions, all national peculiarities, and all human prohibitions. A christian is authorised to conflict with sin wherever he

finds it. There is no place so remote, no station so lofty, no power so great, no government so peculiar, as to shield sin from rebuke and exposure. Yet proud and pharisaical America is enraged to madness, because she is admonished for her bloody crimes by a christian stranger; and her priests and her churches (with some signal exceptions) artfully strive to inflame her hatred, and join in the sanguinary cry, 'Away with him! crucify him! crucify him! his blood be upon us, and on our children!'

The last question, whether he was qualified to sustain so important an agency, was one which, sincerely distrusting his own abilities, he referred to the consideration and decision of the most discreet friends of the colored race in Great Britain. As soon as the mission was suggested to them, whatever may have been their opinion of its suitableness or feasibility, they unanimously agreed, that **GEORGE THOMPSON** was pre-eminently qualified to prosecute it. Nor did they throw up any obstacles in his path: on the contrary, they generously proffered all needful assistance.

Having ascertained the views of his numerous friends, **MR. THOMPSON** gave me the joyful assurance, a few days before my departure, that *Deo volente*, he would visit America, and cast his lot among the proscribed advocates of injured humanity. But he must first perform an important work in England. It was proposed to organize a Society in London, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade **THROUGHOUT THE WORLD**; under whose auspices, Mr. T. would embark for the United States. To accomplish this noble object, **MR. THOMPSON** travelled through the kingdom, lecturing in the principal towns and cities, and stimulating afresh the

compassion and benevolence of the colored race universally. The parent society was soon organized in the metropolis, and several auxiliary associations were also formed in various parts of the country. In Scotland, particularly in Edinburgh, Mr. THOMPSON was received with every demonstration of respect, affection and delight. The enthusiasm of his crowded audiences was boundless.

Here I may pause, to notice some of the many ridiculous charges which were brought against Mr. THOMPSON, after his arrival in this country.

First. He was taunted with being a 'Scotchman,' 'the Scotch emissary,' &c. This sneer is as false in fact, as it is puerile in reason, and worthy of those whose nativity the most degraded tribe on earth should be loath to claim. Surely, to be born in Scotland is no more justly reproachful, than to be born in the United States, and, indisputably, is quite as honorable and praiseworthy. Contempt of other nations belongs to barbarism, and is generally a proof of personal or domestic inferiority. Still, if we may lawfully enslave men because they or their ancestors were born in Africa, we have an unquestionable right to condemn those who originated in Scotland. To this grave charge, that he was a foreigner, Mr. THOMPSON used playfully to reply, that he had no choice, or control, in selecting the spot upon which he first drew the breath of life; that if he could have made an election, at the time of his birth, *perhaps* he might have chosen Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia, in America, as the place of his nativity; and that, if any mistake had been committed, he had done what he could to rectify it, by leaving England for America!

It is proper to state,—not to relieve Mr. T. of any odium, but for the sake of accuracy,—that he was born in Liverpool, and must therefore relinquish the satisfaction of belonging to renowned and enlightened Scotland.

Again. It was partly alleged, that MR. THOMPSON was sent out to this country, by a small number of antiquated spinsters, in Glasgow or Edinburgh :

‘As to THOMPSON, the foreign vagrant, who has attempted with impudent zeal to create excitement, he has been hooted from every place where he has recently attempted to hold forth. He will soon find it most expedient to return to his own country, and give an account of his mission to the *stupid women* who squandered their money for his support.’—[*Boston Centinel*.]

‘The ethics of the abolitionists, as expounded by their imported mouth-piece, THOMPSON, in the employment of the Glasgow *philanthropistesses*, appears to be gaining some ground in the Slave States. Several murders have recently been perpetrated, and ‘God willing,’ as these murderous hypocrites have it, we suppose several more will be committed,’ &c.—[*New York Courier and Enquirer*.]

‘What ! the Cradle of Liberty [Faneuil Hall] in little more than half a century to become its coffin ! The place where the Adams’s and the Otis’s have so often uttered, in burning eloquence, the matchless value of our institutions, to echo with the raven croakings of such creatures as Garrison ! —the mad imbecilities of Stow, the flatulent dogmatisms of the fanatic Birney, from Kentucky, and the theatrical contortions of the mouthing and noisy driveller, acting as the stipendiary of the *Glasgow seamstresses* ? —the poor creature, who, having been found too dishonest for employment by men, has tied himself to the apron-strings of some *canting old women*, and derives his only power of purchasing his daily bread and butter from the scanty savings of a few *Scotch females*. This is one of the scoundrels, —we have no meanness of phraseology for incendiaries, sent here with lighted torches in their hands to set fire to our social fabric, &c. [*Idem*.]

‘England entailed this *curse* [slavery] upon our land ; and now some *maiden ladies in England* send forth two mad *missionaries* to preach *treason* to our Constitution, and inculcate upon us ‘a labor of mercy’ towards our black population ! We shall not attend the meeting in question

—but if we did, it would be to aid in *tarring and feathering* the impudent foreign pretenders, who have thus dared to present themselves among us, to sow the seeds of discord and disunion. Let them beware of the *experiment* they have attempted.’—[*Idem.*]

‘*Thompson the Scotchman.*—This most impudent of itinerant mountebanks, represents *Miss Lucretia M’Tabb and a bevy of old maids at Glasgow*, who pay him board, wages and travelling expenses, to lecture the citizens of the United States on their domestic duties; one of the most urgent of which is, to lodge him in Bridewell, until he give security to keep the peace—after which, he ought to be packed up like a quintal of cod-fish and sent back to the *Caledonian damsels* who exported this vagabondizing interloper.’—[*Idem.*]

‘What renders the conduct of these instigators of treason, robbery and massacre, still more outrageous and indefensible, is the fact of their having imported more than one organ of mischief from England, to assist in sowing the live coals of ruin and desolation over a large portion of this prosperous land. Not content with the agency of the wretched libeller of his country, the exclusive ‘friend of all the human race,’ they have associated in their righteous race, an imported incendiary, ‘who left his country for his country’s good.’ That this apostle of the *old pussy cats* of Glasgow, this tool of Tappanism, has hitherto escaped the Bridewell, transportation, or some other species of modern martyrdom, is a proof either that our laws are defective, our magistrates neglectful, or our people the best natured in the world. We hope and trust that his next attempt in this city will end in a transfer to the Penitentiary, as a common disturber and enemy to society, and would earnestly recommend to the superintendent of that society, a solitary probation, lest he might corrupt the morals of his pupils.’—[*Idem.*]

Occasionally, ‘the bevy of old maids at Glasgow’ would be made to give place to the British Government, which was charged with having sent MR. THOMPSON to this country for the express purpose of destroying the American Union! The same individuals, almost in the same breath, would bring these ridiculous and contradictory allegations. Occasionally, the ridicule of contempt would be followed by the toscin of alarm, thus :

‘Sir, these doctrines and that language, to which I have felt it my duty to advert, tending as they do to the disruption of the Union, the prostration of Gov-

ernment, and to all the horrors of a civil and servile war, have attained their greatest prevalence and intensity within the past year. Since a certain notorious foreign agent first landed upon our shores, who comes here not to unite his fate with ours, not as other foreigners who would make this their home, and whom we cordially receive to the participation of all the immeasurable blessings of free institutions; but he comes here as an avowed *emissary*, sustained by foreign funds, a *professed agitator* upon questions deeply, profoundly *political*, which lay at the very foundation of our Union, and in which the very existence of this nation is involved. He comes here from the dark and corrupt institutions of Europe, to enlighten us upon the rights of man and the moral duties of our own condition. Received by *our hospitality*, (!!) he stands here upon our soil, protected by *our laws*, (!!) and hurls 'fire-brands, arrows and death' into the habitations of our neighbors, and friends, and brothers;—and when he shall have kindled a conflagration which is sweeping desolation over our land, he has only to embark for his own country, and there look securely back, with indifference or exultation; upon the wide spread ruin by which *our cities* are wrapt in flames, and *our garments* rolled in blood'!!—*Speech of Hon. Peleg Sprague, at the pro-slavery meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, August 21, 1835.*

* Circumstances combine to give to this extraordinary philippic, the magnanimity of the spirit of murder. Its author has a large reputation as a statesman; his assault upon MR. THOMPSON was made at a time when the public mind was absolutely in a state of phrenzy, and an infatuated populace stood ready to abduct, or tar and feather, or assassinate, as opportunity might offer, this noble philanthropist; it was a powerful stimulus to lawless violence,—administered, too, in the Old Cradle of Liberty,—which operated on the 21st of October, by exciting a lawless mob of five thousand 'gentlemen of property and standing' in Boston, who endeavored 'to snake out and lynch' MR. THOMPSON, according to the most approved mode of torture and murder at the South. This philippic was not less cowardly than sanguinary, inasmuch as it was uttered at a time, and under circumstances, and in a place, which rendered it impossible either for MR. THOMPSON or any of his friends to be heard in reply.

Our English brethren may feel curious to see 'those doctrines and that language' of the abolitionists, which MR. SPRAGUE declares 'tend to the disruption of the Union, the prostration of Government, and to all the horrors of a civil and servile war.' Mr. Sprague represents them to be these:—'Tell the abolitionists this; present to them in full array the terrific consequences of their attempts at immediate emancipation, and they meet all by a cold abstraction (!) They answer,—We must *do right regardless of consequences.*' 'They insist that it is right that they should urge their

If it were true, that the ladies of Glasgow or Edinburgh deputed MR. THOMPSON to this country, and wholly defrayed the expenses of his mission among us, the fact would be disgraceful, neither to them nor to

doctrines for the conviction of the South.' [What a dangerous heresy!] 'They insist upon immediate, instantaneous emancipation.' 'By thus insisting that the continuance of slavery, under any circumstances, is necessarily of the same *moral* character as its original, voluntary introduction, that it is equally criminal, they come to the conclusion, that no laws that sanction or uphold it can have any *moral* obligation.' Friends of humanity in England, behold the head and front of the offending of American abolitionists! Are not their doctrines your doctrines? Yet it is alleged that they 'tend to all the horrors of a civil and servile war'!!!

MR. SPRAGUE is guilty of misrepresentation, in several instances. *It is not true*, that MR. THOMPSON 'came here as an avowed emissary,' or as 'a professed agitator,' in a pernicious sense. *It is not true*, that the question of slavery is exclusively or pre-eminently a *political* one: it is a *moral* and *religious* question, which every moral and religious being on earth has a right to examine and discuss, on these shores, and throughout the world. The sneer at 'the dark and corrupt institutions of Europe' manifests a large share of effrontery, in this connexion; for the institution of AMERICAN SLAVERY is incomparably more 'dark and corrupt' than any that exists in Europe. MR. SPRAGUE exhibits, moreover, a superfluity of indignation, because an Englishman 'comes here to enlighten us, upon the rights of man, and the moral duties of our condition. Surely, the people who make merchandise of more than one-sixth of their whole number, and declare that such brutal conduct is divinely sanctioned, or, at least, is not prohibited by Christianity, need to be enlightened upon the subject of inalienable human rights, and upon moral duties, more than any other people on the face of the globe. Surely, the man who could desecrate FANEUIL HALL by a speech in favor of American tyrants, and by lauding WASHINGTON because he was a *slaveholder*, (thus converting a damning stain into a badge of honor,) may be taught something on the score of liberty even by a NICHOLAS, much more by a free-born Englishman.

By the British Constitution, no slave can breathe the air of England.—What does MR. SPRAGUE assert of the American Constitution, in approving terms? 'It recognizes and provides for the continuance of the relation of *master and slave*. It does *sanction*, it does *UPHOLD*, slavery. There

him, but honorable to all parties. It is, unquestionably, the duty of women to seek the universal elevation of their sex from moral and physical degradation, by attempting, for instance, to extirpate the practice of self-immolation in Hindoostan, or Turkish polygamy, or American slavery. If a million females are held in beastly thralldom in this country, is it unbecoming any portion of the women of England, Scotland or Ireland, to send forth and sustain an eloquent and gifted agent to plead the cause of their down-trodden sex? No.

is no pretence that the provisions of the Constitution, in relation to slavery, were inserted by accident or inadvertence. *Few parts of the Constitution were more carefully and deliberately weighed.* Has not every American cause to blush at the contrast?

But MR. THOMPSON was 'received by OUR hospitality'!! says MR. SPRAGUE. This is sufficiently impudent and false. It was the hospitality of the wolf to the lamb, seeking to devour the victim. 'Our hospitality' caused MR. THOMPSON, his wife, and little ones, to be thrust out of a hotel in New York city, soon after he landed in this country. 'Our hospitality' provided for him rotten eggs, brickbats, tar and feathers, halters, daggers, &c. &c. 'Our hospitality' at last compelled him to return hastily to England, in order to save his life. It was the 'hospitality' offered by PELEG SPRAGUE in Faneuil Hall, which prepared the way for the great mobocratic entertainment that was made in October for MR. THOMPSON!

'Protected by our laws'!! says MR. SPRAGUE. When, where, and how? 'Our laws' do not protect *native* abolitionists. 'Our laws,' too, must be singularly defective, if they give *protection* to a man who is guilty of hurling 'fire-brands, arrows and death' into 'the habitations of our neighbors, and friends, and brothers.' But this charge of PELEG SPRAGUE against MR. THOMPSON is worthy to go with the accusation against the apostles, that they were pestilent and seditious fellows, turning the world upside down—and with the charge against the Saviour, that he had a devil. It was a charge well calculated, at the time of its utterance, to stimulate a host of assassins against Mr. T's life: it was certainly a blow aimed at his reputation, and not only so, but an impeachment of the humanity, patriotism and piety of the whole body of abolitionists who supported MR. THOMPSON, both in this country and in England.

Such an act would be more truly glorious than a thousand victories won upon the 'tented field.' But the reader has been already apprised, that **MR. THOMPSON** was invited to come to this country by the **NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY**, and to accept an agency in its behalf. He complied with the invitation, but came also under the sanction, and to some extent, under the direction as well as co-operation of the *British and Foreign Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world.* He was also countenanced and supported by other anti-slavery associations in various parts of the United Kingdom. It is true, that in Glasgow and Edinburgh a special interest was taken in the mission of **MR. THOMPSON** by some of the most estimable and philanthropic ladies in those cities, as well as by ladies in Liverpool, Birmingham, and other places, and that they contributed towards its prosecution—just as pious females in our country assist in sending missionaries to other lands—humbly, subordinately, conjunctively. Yet this incidental co-operation (worthy as it is of the admiration of the wise and good in every country) has been made the occasion of much scurrility and falsehood, as preceding quotations abundantly prove. It has been made a subject of ridicule, in a house of worship, before a crowded audience in New York. At a colonization meeting in the Rev. Dr. Spring's church last May, the **Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE** made a frothy and theatrical speech, of which the following is an extract, as reported in the New York Observer :

'**MR. BETHUNE** observed, that he was sorry not to see some of our English friends present, (i. e. Messrs. Cox and Hoby,)—and while speak-

ing of them, he could not help thinking what sort of a reception the agent of the Edinburgh ladies, (MR. THOMPSON,) would meet on his return to his constituents,* and what sort of a report he would probably make on the subject of his mission. He could not but picture to himself the fair lady President inquiring—

‘And pray MR. THOMPSON, what did you *do* in America?’

To this he thought he heard the Agent responding, ‘Why, ladies, I made speeches there: for which one part of my audience loudly applauded me, and another part as loudly hissed me.’

‘And pray, where did you make speeches, MR. THOMPSON? Did you go to that part of the country where slavery prevailed, and tell *them* how wrong it was?’

‘Oh no! if I had, they would have hanged me! But I went to the Northern States, ladies, and I told them what wicked people they were at the South.’

‘But, MR. THOMPSON, had the people of the North any power to emancipate the slaves of the southern holders?’

* The London Christian Advocate of Feb. 1st, informs us ‘what sort of a reception the constituents of MR. THOMPSON gave him in *Glasgow* on his return:—on Monday he met the Emancipation Committees, male and female, in the Friend’s Meeting-house, when, after he had briefly recited his adventures, a unanimous vote of thanks, congratulation and confidence was passed and presented to him. The meeting likewise pledged itself anew to the cause of universal emancipation. On Tuesday evening, and again on Friday evening, MR. THOMPSON addressed large assemblies of the members and friends of the Emancipation Society in DR. WARDLAW’S Chapel. Rev. Dr. HUGH took the chair, and opened the proceedings in a short speech, highly commendatory of MR. THOMPSON. MR. T. made a very lengthy address. On Monday night, (says the Glasgow Journal of Thursday,) the soiree in honor of MR. GEORGE THOMPSON was given in the large and splendid hall of the Montith Rooms, Buchanan street. The usual refreshments provided on such occasions—tea, coffee, fruits, conserves, &c. &c. were amply and tastefully distributed. A series of resolutions was moved and carried by acclamation, in the course of the evening, and the movers and seconders of these addressed the assembly in excellent speeches. MR. CUNNINGHAM’S band in the gallery filled up the intervals between the addresses, with alternately gay and solemn strains. It was 12 o’clock ere the assembly broke up. MR. THOMPSON, who was the last to address them, was warmly cheered and encouraged to go on in his last speech. Rev. Drs. KIDSTON and HUGH officiated as chaplains.’

tion,) in that portion of the Union in which it principally obtains, and threatens to subjugate to a servile condition the white citizens of the North. Its blighting influence spreads over the whole country. Besides, slavery is sustained in a national capacity at the Seat of Government, in the District of Columbia, and in the several Territories belonging to the Union, and under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress. Again: When MR. THOMPSON visited us, the moral power of the free states was almost wholly enlisted on the side of southern slavery, either by palliation or direct support. It was essentially necessary, therefore, that that lost moral power should be recovered, and turned against the slave-system—for, enlightened, consolidated, and skilfully directed, it is adequate to its overthrow. Let the public sentiment in the free states become thoroughly *abolitionised*, and slavery will speedily be crushed by its mighty pressure. Hence it is that such desperate efforts are made, on the part of southern states, to suppress the freedom of speech at the North, by mobocratic violence; hence the offer of large rewards for the abduction of anti-slavery editors and lecturers; and hence the demand of the South, that the liberty of the press, on the subject of slavery, shall be put down at the North by penal enactments. These items of intelligence serve to show the wisdom of MR. THOMPSON, and the folly of MR. BETHUNE. The latter assumes, most falsely, as has been proved, that it is as useless, and as much out of place, to assail southern slavery, in *New England*, as it would be in *Old England*; and that the people of the North have no more connection with southern slavery, and can no more effect its overthrow,

‘ Oh no ! No more, ladies, than you have yourselves.’

‘ Indeed ! and then, **MR. THOMPSON**, why did you not stay at home, and make your speeches to us ?’

[These queries and replies were constantly interrupted with bursts of enthusiastic applause, mingled with long and uncontrolable laughter.]

The foregoing miserable attempt at wit is a specimen of the colonization spirit in this country. The school-boy sophistry of **MR. BETHUNE** is based upon a glaring falsehood, which, when overthrown, buries its author in the ruins of his own folly. **MR. THOMPSON** did not, and could not, go to any part of our nation in which slavery does not virtually exist. A very large amount of capital, belonging to the northern States is vested in plantations and slaves at the South. There is not a State in the Union in which slaveholders do not reside. There is not an inch of territory in the United States which affords the least protection to a runaway slave—the people of every state regarding themselves as obligated by the Constitution to return him to his tyrannical master, and to suppress every insurrection for liberty among the slaves. Slaveholders are allowed a large slave representation in Congress. The intercourse between the North and the South is as intimate as between members of the same family, and their inhabitants are constantly marrying or giving in marriage with each other. The existence of southern slavery puts in jeopardy the liberty of every free colored citizen in the non-slaveholding States. It has destroyed the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of peaceably assembling together to consult upon the public good, and the liberty of locomotion, i. e. to the citizens of the free states, (all guaranteed by the Constitu-

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than the ladies of Edinburgh! Mark what MR BETHUNE says respecting the murderous spirit of the southern slaveholders! The question is supposed to be propounded to MR. THOMPSON—‘Did you go to that part of the country where slavery prevailed, and tell *them* how wrong it was?’ MR. BETHUNE makes the following reply for Mr. T.—‘Oh no! if I had *they would have hanged me!*’ i. e. for simply being told that slavery was wrong, they would have ‘lynched’ MR. THOMPSON, without judge or jury, and in defiance of every just law, whether human or divine. What proud and blood-thirsty oppressors, according to the representation of the Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE! And yet MR. THOMPSON was taunted as a coward, for not rushing needlessly and rashly into the jaws of these human tigers, although he had a mighty and all-important work first to perform in the Northern states, even if he could have lectured with safety at the South! But I dismiss the reverend jeerer, who trembled while he affected to laugh at the powerful speeches of Mr. T.

With regard to the other charge that was sometimes brought against MR. THOMPSON—that he was an emissary of the *British Government*—as it was never very seriously urged, and is too ridiculous to require refutation, I shall let it pass without comment. There is a third allegation which is more plausible, but not less false—that he was sent out to this country, to do a work of mischief, by the enemies of our republic—by those who desire to see our Union dashed into atoms! Since the world was made, whoever heard of foes attempting to bring a nation to repentance for its sins, *in order to destroy it?* Do they not always assail that which is good



and precious, and aim to extend licentiousness and crime? The truth is, the abolitionists of England, as a body, constitute the republican, the genuine *reform* party of that country. They are the sincere, disinterested, ardent friends of American liberty and union; they wish to see our country purged from every stain of blood; they desire her prosperity and improvement; they love and cherish those civil and religious institutions which we value most highly; they admire the theory of our government; they are in truth our countrymen, our brethren, our neighbors, in feeling, in purpose, in christian love and sympathy. They will ultimately abolish the unholy union of Church and State in England. The extortionate tithe-system—the House of Lords—landed monopolies, &c. &c.—But they are retarded in their noble efforts at reform, by the inconsistency and oppression of this republic. All our divisions and tumults are seized upon with avidity by the tories, and ascribed to our *form of government**—whereas, that form is the most rational, and therefore the most substantial, of all human governments, and whereas it is well known among ourselves that the divisions and tumults alluded to are the *fruits of slavery*, exclusively and comprehensively. They are freedom clashing with oppression, light with darkness, free labor with slave labor. If our slave system were abolished, the union of our great nation would be perfect. If it be not speedily removed, strong as we are, it will overcome and destroy us. *The tories in Europe do not desire its re-*

* See the speech of Sir Robert Peel, at Farnworth.

moval. They desire the downfall of this republic. They would gladly assist in mobbing GEORGE THOMPSON, for his republican labors among us. American slaveholders and aristocrats belong to their party, and hate liberty and equality for *all* the people, as sincerely as the autocrat of Russia, or the Duke of Wellington, or Sir Robert Peel. The tory party in England were against the abolition of the foreign slave trade, and the emancipation of the slaves in the British dependencies. They always have been, and always will be, *astories*, in favor of both white and black slavery. It was the friends of America—the friends of universal liberty—who sent GEORGE THOMPSON to our shores, without cost to ourselves, that he might labor for the destruction of our worst foe—the foe of free and righteous government—the foe of God and man.

It is necessary to bring this brief sketch to a close. Having made all suitable arrangements for his departure, MR. THOMPSON, with his family, bade adieu to his native land, August 17, 1834, on board the ship Champlain. When one week at sea, he wrote the following stanzas :

PRAYER AT SEA.

Eternal Father ! God of love !
Lord of the sea, and earth and sky ;
O raise my heart to things above,
And let my soul on thee rely.

To traverse now the mighty deep,
Far from the regions of my birth ;
The rushing waters by me sweep,
And bear me from my native earth :

But not from Thee !—Thy spirit dwells
With man, howe'er his course may change ;
Where verdure springs, where ocean swells,
Thy power, Thy providence doth range.

Delightful thought ! though tempests frown,
And waves uplift their crests on high ;
A Father's glance thou sendest down,
Thou hearest still thy children's cry.

Storms, lightning, thunders, all are thine ;
All ministers to do thy will ;
Thou dost their power, and course define,
They hear thy mandate, ' Peace, be still !'

Then let me in thy care confide,
Long as the voyage of life shall last ;
Nor be this humble prayer denied—
' *Father be mine when life is past !*'

MR. THOMPSON arrived safely at New York, September 20, 1834. The event created much sensation in the city, which soon spread throughout the country. I shall trace his career among us in a Preface to the second volume of his Speeches and Letters.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Boston, April, 1836.

The following graphic description of MR. THOMPSON's person and oratory is copied from the Manchester (Eng.) Times :

MR. THOMPSON.

The following is the substance of a correspondent's reply, who was asked his opinion of Mr. Thompson, as a public speaker, and which we here subjoin to our report of his speech.

‘ With his person, you are acquainted—about five feet ten inches—slender, yet firm—a little Roman about the nose—a deep, dark, keen eye—ruddy, though not the delicate hue of the rose—a frame, in short, in which health appears to have taken up its abode—with the apparent agility of a racer. His manner is always easy, though not in every instance graceful, and invariably natural. His actions correspond with his eye, varied and quick ; and though redundant, never palling, and never offensive by being awkward. It is impossible to pronounce him a finished speaker, and yet there is that about him which at once disarms criticism, and prevents you from finding fault. There is an energy which often entrenches on violence, but it is not energy *throughout* ;—it is not the torrent over the wide and inclined campaign, which sweeps on with one continued force ;—it belongs more to the flood among the mountains, rolling over tremendous heights, and in proportion to the depth of its falls, again tossing its spray upward—with breaks and pauses among the rocks—and then murmuring along the plainer portions of the country—and rarely ever, in its loudest roar, its boldest dashes, distracting to the ear of the by-stander. The secret of this is, Mr. Thompson is never vehement, never impassioned, except in cases where truth—from its strength, and fact—from its atrocity and other peculiar characteristics, require it ; then, and then only, is he energetic—powerful—overwhelming—almost oppressive. His voice is, upon the whole, sound—though not like the bell ; it is varied, full—equally adapted to the colloquial, the sarcastic, the ironical, the pleasant, the oratorical—in each of which he indulges ; affording the same variety to the ear, which a rich landscape exhibits to the eye. If his energy were brought to bear upon that of Dr. Chalmers, the difference would be found to exist in the circumstance of the latter giving out at greater lengths what the former lets out at intervals ; in the one, the disturbed air comes in more frequent, and unexpected gusts ; in the other, the tempest is of longer continuance—yet both moving leaf, twig, branch, and stem, of the human forest, over which

the voice is permitted to pass. With considerable acuteness, is combined great strength of intellect; and though Mr. Thompson's is not a mind that would delight to enter into the various subtleties and niceties of an argument—pursuing it through all its intricacies, doublings, and bearings—ferreting it out of all its lurking places—and keeping close to its heels to the very last, like hounds in the chase; yet he possesses what is infinitely better for his purpose and for the occasion—and this, by the way, is no bad proof of the sagacity of the Anti-slavery Society in the selection they have made—a ready perception of evil, and a masculine grasp. The facts are too glaring—the subject too atrocious, for a profuse expenditure of logic. He proceeds to work, therefore, like the eagle, who, on perceiving his prey never for a moment, busies himself in examining the plumage, the bill, the head, or the tail of the bird upon which he is about to pounce, but views it as a whole—makes one fell swoop—clutches it at once—and bears it up, writhing in very agony, till lost for ever to the gaze of the spectators. There is no delicacy in his handling—a mode of proceeding that ought to have been commenced much earlier; it is prey that he has to deal with—prey, to be destroyed—not for its value—but because of its odiousness, having been hurtful to the life and property of others—and in the destruction of which the multitude are induced to revel. This is the man for the work. If there is a naked point, it is seen; and though bare before, it is still laid more bare to the public eye. If deception has been resorted to, it is exposed. If cruelty has been practiced, the branding iron is applied. He goes about the business somewhat in the manner of our friend Taylor, of Old-field lane. The case has been in the hands of others—it has been tampered with—it has now become desperate—life is at stake. There is no ceremony—rank never once occurs to the mind—health is the object—a few twinges and writhings in the patient are observed, so intently is the eye fixed upon the grand object to be attained—health, perfect health. Never, never, did man, take captive an audience sooner or more effectually, on the slave question, than did Mr. Thompson. He bore his hearers along with him, after first drawing them to him—relieved them every now and then from an intensity of feeling, under which was manifested the stillness of the tomb, the fixed eye, and the palpitating heart, by some lighter, but more graphic picture presented to the imagination, breaking out as suddenly as a gleam of sunshine, or coming upon them as unexpectedly as a beautiful, yet picturesque scene, in a lovely valley, invisible to the tourist, till he is brought in his rambles to the verge of the elevated ground in the vicinity. He is as good a painter as he is a powerful declaimer, and is logician enough for the subject in hand; and modest as was the designation of an *address*, which he gave to the remarks that were made, it would have pressed with the weight of a severe *lecture* upon the hearts and upon the understandings of the least susceptible, and the least intellectual, of the anti-abolitionists,

had they been present on the occasion; and what was doubtless more agreeable to others, he did not *read* them a lecture.'

In speaking of Mr. Thompson's argumentative powers, it is by no means insinuated that there is any essential defect in the manner, the process, or the result of his reasonings. He sustains no injury when it is affirmed that he is not a Locke, not a Reid, not a Beattie, not a Dugald Stuart. There are many gradations of intellect between a person of respectable talents and the first of these masters. He may not reach any of these, and yet surpass millions of the human species. His is not the long and even thread of the finest spun cotton, but a logic of points and angles, shooting out in unexpected directions, and excessively annoying to the persons against whom it is directed. It is the logic, not of the study, but of the market, the exchange, and the counting-house; the logic, not of the few, but of the multitude. It is, in short, the logic of the lightning, whose stroke is death to the objection of his opponent, whose flash is conviction to the observer.'

THE SUBSTANCE OF A SPEECH,

Delivered in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Irwell Street, Salford, Manchester, (Eng.) on Monday, August 13th, 1832: by George Thompson, Esq., being a Reply to Mr. Borthwick's statements on the subject of Slavery.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON, who had been delivering lectures on Colonial Slavery in Manchester and the neighboring towns, appeared in the Wesleyan Chapel, Irwell street, on Monday, August 13, in order to give a reply, agreeably to advertisement, to Mr. Borthwick, a pro-slavery gentleman. The moment Mr. Thompson was recognised, walking along the aisle towards the vestry, a burst of applause immediately proceeded from the auditory. Precisely at seven o'clock he ascended the pulpit, accompanied by the Boroughreeve, William Hill, Esq.; Mr. Peter Clare, one of the Secretaries of the Anti-slavery Society, and by Mr. James Everett, one of the members of the Committee. To the latter was assigned the office of arranging and handing to the speaker the documentary papers requisite to support the great cause of humanity. The large and beautiful chapel was crowded with a highly respectable auditory; and never was a speaker more enthusiastically received—more attentively heard—more feelingly responded to. Mr. Borthwick and his friends sat immediately below the speaker.

MR. HILL.—Before I introduce the gentleman who is to address you this evening I have one observation to make. A party of gentlemen have done me the honor to address a note to me, inquiring whether the discussion will be confined to the gentleman who is to address you. As I have not had the opportunity of a personal interview with these gentlemen, I beg leave to state, that the discussion here will be confined to Mr. Thompson alone, and if any gentleman has any thing to say, afterwards, I shall be happy to see him either in the vestry, or at my house. With these few observations I beg to introduce to you

George Thompson, Esq., the advocate of the Anti-slavery Society.

MR. THOMPSON here stepped to the front of the pulpit, and was again received with deafening cheers. As soon as these had subsided, he addressed his audience as follows:—

I think I may assume that all here are fully acquainted with the circumstances under which we are met this evening. This is the fifth time I have had the honor of appearing before a Manchester and Salford auditory. For 11 months previously to my coming here, I had been rapidly travelling through the south-western and other parts of England, and I think I may safely leave it to you, whether or not I am a friend to the safe and immediate abolition of slavery. I came to Manchester humbly and zealously, but sincerely and upon Christian principles, to discuss the great, the momentous, the high moral question, whether slavery—whether British colonial slavery—shall continue, or whether there is humanity enough,—self denial enough,—zeal enough, sufficient Christianity in British bosoms, and sufficient security in British arms and British religion, to do our duty, to open the door of the prison house, and ‘bid the oppressed go free.’ How I have discharged my duty you are all witnesses.

I have caluminated no man. When I opened my mission I simply contended that slavery was an evil in the sight of God, and that therefore it ought to be immediately and forever abolished. It has been laid to my charge that I have spoken of the absent. I confess it. I have spoken of the 755,000 distressed human beings who are absent, and cannot therefore plead their own cause; who are distant, and have no means of making their complaints heard across the wide Atlantic; who have no 60 or 70 members in the House of Commons to represent their interests, (cheers;) who have no paid agents, (great cheering) in Berkley square, in Cavendish square, and in Whitehall place; who have no one that can drive down in his carriage to Downing street, and threaten the minister, if he do not do this or that, he will withhold his influence and support from him. (Cheers.) They have no friends like these. Their friends are they who are influenced alone by religion, by humanity, by a sense of duty,

and by a remembrance of that day which to all is fast approaching, when they will be called upon to say how they have conducted themselves towards these unfortunate beings. (Cheers.) The time is fast coming when, having crossed the river of death, there will be none whose sufferings you can mitigate, no sick to relieve, none to whom you can give advice and consolation; then for ever will the destinies of man be fixed, and he who is 'unholy will be unholy still.'

But peradventure, with this good cause before us, we may not live in vain; we may perhaps still do something to relieve our country from the foul stain that avarice and despotism have brought upon it; and so discharge our duty, as to receive from the lip of our friend the approving words, 'Well done thou good and faithful servant.'

I have done all in my power to induce this feeling, and I have been well received; but it was reserved for me to visit Manchester before I found out my real importance. Here I found myself of such consequence as to be visited by three hired advocates from the West India planters, who came, strangely came, with West India money in their pockets, to do—what? To be convinced, forsooth. (Laughter.) This is a strange occurrence, than which I never met with a stranger, that they should send their three principal agents to be convinced by George Thompson. But it is hard to find the way to a man's understanding through his breeches pocket; it is like a man's coming to be convinced, who, if he be convinced, shall have his rations stopped. However, if it should come to pass that they are convinced, and that they write to St. James' street, and say they are converts to the opinions of the vast majority—do I speak truly or not?—(cheers,) of the 90 out of 100, or of 999 out of 1000; why then, I say, it would be noble; and let them trust for their porridge to the mercy of Providence, or trust to the eleemosynary bounty of mankind for means to prevent the necessity of their having occasion to do such dirty work, as to endeavor to perpetuate the system of negro slavery. (Applause.) But this was not sufficient; by some hocus-pocus, I suddenly find myself visited by an old friend from Nottingham, in the character of a West India planter, and by the 'merest accident,' no doubt, by two or three gentlemen from Liverpool,

who, with most stentorian lungs, made a very beautiful and hearty chorus, by calling out, ever and anon, 'hear, hear, hear, hear.' (Laughter.) I say by the 'strangest accident,' by the strangest combination of circumstances that ever I met with, I suddenly find myself visited by the Secretary of the West India Association; by two other gentlemen, by a planter from Nottingham and by several gentlemen from Liverpool, but how many deponent sayeth not. However, thanks to the railroad, these gentlemen hear of my lecture in Manchester, and, by the power of steam, are here in a pig's whisper. (Laughter.) Then come the eventful scenes of the lecture night, and I am asked by Mr. Borthwick, 'If there be any thing in your address to which I object, may I have the liberty to reply?'—to which I answered, 'I had no objection; but I said that the room was engaged, and the meeting called for a specific purpose.' I said, however, that, 'he had power to do as I had done, if he could find friends to meet him.' Well, I delivered that lecture, and received an intimation that a reply would be given; that my lecture was not liked; and that the individual would really, and truly, and clearly make a reply to it. But out of the nine distinct portions of that lecture one only was touched upon and the rest forgotten. Certainly in this age of accidents this was very natural, particularly when the gentleman had come all the way from London, one hundred and seventy miles, to deliver a speech which had been retailed there, I don't know how many times. But the great charge against me was, that I dared to calumniate absent individuals, the West India planters, the merchants and the mortgagees of West India property. I call upon all who heard me then, to say if that charge be true. I stand here not to calumniate a single individual, not to vituperate a single individual; but I stand here to discuss, without animosity to any man, the great question of British Colonial Slavery. However, in defiance of truth, it was assumed that I had calumniated absent individuals, and that he would not else have been there. Is that charge true? I merely took the position, that slavery is an evil in the sight of God, and ought to be immediately and forever abolished. To this no distinct reply was given. You all remember the theological portion of his discourse. I shall shortly come to

speak of him as a theologian. The next position I took was, that we ought to love our neighbor as ourselves; that we ought to apply the golden rule, of 'doing unto others as we would that others should do unto us;' and that we ought to 'remember those that are in bonds as bound with them.' Has this been replied to? It has only been glanced at; and you will perceive, that by the 'merest accident,' all the rest of my discourse was forgotten. There was no reply; yet **REPLY** was the largest word in his placard calling the meeting. There was also a quotation of scripture on his card. I like the gentleman's going to the Bible for quotations. His quotation is:—'He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him.' Why then did he not do his duty? I charge him with a gross dereliction of his duty,—he has not searched me; would that he had, instead of delivering those stale and trumpery arguments in palliation of slavery, which have been delivered from time immemorial, and endeavoring to render our industrious artizans discontented by allusions to the 'four parlors and the saloon' of the negro. However, we will forgive this if he will mend his manners, and go on with his duty of searching me. If he chooses to go to Proverbs I could remark that we were not the *first in the cause*. No, it was the man stealer, the blood-thirsty money-getting British merchant. They were the first; and we are come to search them. However, I will make no further comment upon that portion of scripture, but refer him to another in the same book, Proverbs, 1st chapter 10th to 16th verses:—

'My son if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.

'If they say, Come with us, let us lay wait for blood, let us lurk privily for the innocent without cause:

'Let us swallow them up alive as the grave; and whole, as those that go down into the pit:

'We shall find all precious substance, we shall fill our houses with spoil:

'Cast in thy lot among us; let us all have one purse.

'My son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path:

'For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood.'

¶ Well then, the conclusion I drew, from the premises already stated was, that if there was in our minds any recognition of the authority of the scriptures, and in our hearts any disposition to adopt them as principles of human conduct, then all worldly considerations ought to sink

into insignificance, while interposing between us and a paramount duty. Has this been refuted? No; it has not been noticed. Again; I went on to explain the objects of the meeting, which were to seek the immediate and total extinction of slavery; not, observe, the destruction of the planters, not the spoliation of property, not the injury of commerce, not to deprive the widow and the fatherless of their pittance, but the accomplishment of a plan of redemption, both for the oppressor and the oppressed; of the former from the demoralizing influence of the system upon him, and of the latter from the degradation and misery inseparable from a state of abject servitude. Was this improper? has its impropriety been shewn in the way of reply? No. The gentleman declared again and again that he agreed with me, and yet we are at dagger's points. He took precisely the same ground as I did, except that abolition should not be immediate. That it should be done, BUT NOT NOW. I am an abolitionist. He is an abolitionist; and yet, though we differ on so few points, 'I will pursue you,' said this very man, 'from place to place like your evil genius.' But there appears to be a whole host of genii. My cry is, 'a clear stage and a fair hearing,' and then come on, come on, come on! (Loud cheers.) Ay, though you have the whole of the West India committee at your heels, come on! With this book (the Bible) in my hand—with slavery and chains, and christians for the slave's masters, I shall never fear the issue of the contest. What was my next point? I denounced slavery as unjust and iniquitous in its origin, its progress and present operations, and I appealed to Jeremie. And here let me get my friend to put down that word. Jeremie, Jeremie, Jeremie. But not a word of Jeremie did we hear from him. I appealed to Jeremie's Essays on Colonial Slavery, pages 5, 6, 7 and 8, and has any reply been offered by way of invalidating the testimony of an eye and ear witness? No. I appealed to the same testimony, page 102, in reference to West India insurrections: has this been disproved? Have you met with a reply? No. What did I glance at next? I spoke of the massacre of about 2,000 negroes, of the demolition of chapels, of the persecution of missionaries, of Church Colonial Unions for the banishment of all sectari-



ans, of the conduct of white magistrates, white planters, and white militiamen, who engaged in those bloody transactions. I spoke of the treatment of Mr. Knibb's deacon, who was flogged and ironed for praying that God would support his Christian minister. I referred to extracts from Jamaica papers, particularly the 'Christian Record,' a Jamaica periodical. And was I replied to? No. After all the ferocious conduct of these Jamaica individuals, not one of these disinterested West Indian agents,—not one of these friends to the abolition of slavery, has lifted up his voice to denounce these infernal proceedings in the Island of Jamaica. This speaks volumes. Believe them if you will; believe that they are with the negro; believe that they would give their whole heart and hand to the abolition of slavery, when not one of them has lifted up his voice against the wanton destruction of the negro, or the fiend-like persecution of the missionary!

On the practice of slavery, I spoke of five negroes who had been flogged for picking grass, and would have exposed themselves to the same punishment if they had disobeyed orders; a case published in the 'Christian Record.' Has this been answered? No: he spoke only of the four parlors and saloon of the negro. There he stuck, and never went beyond its confines in his speech. I read part of thirty-four advertisements for runaway negroes, and he spoke of the condition of English laborers. I spoke of brand-marks, of sabre-marks, of flogging, and of the loss of fingers and toes, and challenged him to produce any portion of the community to exhibit appearances like these. Was there any reply to this? Not a syllable was granted to me. I stated next that the argument of danger was fallacious. I said they saw no danger in building ships, in manning them with British seamen, in paying for them with British money—no danger in burning towns, stealing the inhabitants, throwing them into the sea, packing them up in hogsheads, and in continuing the system of Colonial Slavery; but they profess to see dangers in liberating the slave, though protected by British troops, a powerful militia, a numerous and loyal free black population, British laws, a British Governor, a House of Assembly, and all the encouragement and protection which humanity, justice, and religion can afford. Was there any

reply to this? Not a word. I stated that compensation was the ground of their opposition; that the planters wished to make a market of slavery; that those concerned were determined to sell it as dear as possible; and that they were now striving to wring from the humanity of the people of England a last price for the abandonment of the system. Has there been any reply to this? No.

I will presently show that this representative of the West India body absolutely put the members of that body beyond the pale of compensation; proved that they would be infinite gainers by emancipation, and that they would be dishonest and avaricious in the extreme, if they should claim indemnification for the liberation of those whom this advocate declared were already a cause of loss to their owners. But I will tell that gentleman why his party asks compensation. They know the people of this country anxiously desire the extinction of slavery; they know that the humane, and the benevolent, and the pious, would not hesitate to make some pecuniary sacrifice to get rid of the odious blot, and therefore they have determined to make the best feelings of our nature subserve the gratification of their cupidity. We all know that the most virtuous and amiable of men are frequently made the dupes of the designing, that 'honest men are the soft easy chusions on which knaves repose and fatten;' and acting upon this, they will seek to make the awakened feelings of your bosoms in behalf of the captive, add to the weight of their unhallowed purse. My opponent thought proper to give a bill payable on Tuesday evening last. That bill was seen upon every wall in the neighborhood, duly accepted and made payable at the Town Hall, Salford; but lo! when the time came, and a large auditory assembled to witness the honoring of the draft, there were no 'effects,' although the acceptor was surrounded by many friends; yet in the time of need they could not muster enough of the needful, to save their West India advocate from insolvency, and he now appears before you to take the benefit of the act. (Immense cheering and laughter.)

I had divided my address upon the previous evening into several distinct and independent branches, and thereby afforded them an opportunity of dividing and subdividing the work of reply amongst them, if it were found too



gigantic for *one*. And, if they have read Adam Smith upon the advantages to be derived from a division of labor, it is wonderful they did not avail themselves of his philosophy on the night of reply. The task might then, perhaps, have been accomplished. To Mr. Borthwick might have been assigned the theological division, together with the less grave, and more grateful duty of complimenting the ladies; Mr. Peart might have undertaken to show the practice of slavery in the Colonies; Mr. Saintsbury a vindication of the purity, piety, and perfect disinterestedness of the St. James street Committee; Mr. Shand, the claims of the shipping interest of Liverpool, and Mr. Franklin might have closed the evening's entertainment by the exhibition of a pro-slavery panoramic illustration of the principal events in the history of the system from the time of Elizabeth downwards.—I was careful to give the gentleman my definition of immediate emancipation, and stated it distinctly—not that it was a freedom from law—not that it was a freedom from labor—not that it was a freedom to destroy each other, and to unite to destroy their masters—that I pleaded only for a legislative enactment, abolishing the unnatural right of property in the bodies and souls of men and their posterity, and a substitution, at the same time, of public, judicial, and responsible authority, for private, arbitrary, and irresponsible control. That was all I asked, and all, I contend, we mean by immediate abolition. They are now governed by the planters, than whom, to govern, there is not a more unfit class of men in the world. Is there no wisdom in the House of Commons—is there no wisdom in the House of Assembly—can none but planters govern the negro? I contend that neither a Wilbeforce, nor a Howard ought to have arbitrary control or power over his fellow-man; that no man should be allowed, at his caprice, to scourge his servant. What is the security of our property and our lives, but that men shall not be judges in their own cause, (hear, hear,) that they shall be compelled to appeal to an unpacked jury to prove their innocence or guilt? But, in the West India islands, there are planters for judges, planters for magistrates, planters for juries, and planters for witnesses; all 'lords of the ascendant.' Yet it was asserted by Mr. Borthwick the other night, that there was

an equal law both for the slave and the planter, and it seems I acted *contra bonos mores* in crying 'No, No, No!'

Now for my reply. I will not do as he did, forget the discourse I am professing to reply to. I will track him close through every lane—step by step. I will begin at the beginning, and will not leave off till I get to the end. I shall have anticipated some portions of this reply, but I will begin. He said, 'I appear here as the representative of a large and influential body.' Some one inquired what body he did represent? and he replied, 'The West Indian body.' He said that the planters had been calumniated. I had said, emphatically, it was against the system only that I raised my voice—my desire was to raise the slave, whose immortal destiny is like my own—that Christian men should have fellowship with him—that they should sympathise with him, and that no slave should be found in the British dominions. (Cheers.) The next assertion of my Hon. Opponent was, that it was not a question of passion, but of policy. With them it is a question of policy,—unmixed policy. We commence with duty—they commence with policy. Then, again, he said, it was not a question of imagination, but a question of religion. We shall presently come to the religious part of the question. He said also it was a question of right between man and man. I like that position uncommonly well. We will take it for our motto, and inscribe it on our banners, which shall be waved in England, Ireland, and Scotland, 'RIGHT BETWEEN MAN AND MAN.' (Cheers.) Let it be so discussed. But here we are at issue on the question of rights, for they plead for the right to do as they like with their fellow-beings. But a greater man than I, or that gentleman has said—and when you have applauded the sentiment I will tell you the name of the author :—

'Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of the laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world, sources of power, wealth and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the

heart of man; and by that law, eternal and unchangeable, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African slave trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by Parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the wind. Now then, let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the Parliament beware! The same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade: and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them: but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God.²

And now for the author—Lord Brougham. (Loud and long continued cheering.) Ay, the man who, from his early days, has been ardently attached to civil and religious liberty, and who had said,

‘If you place in my hands the sacred trust of representing you in the Commons House of Parliament, you arm me with power to complete the good work which we have begun together, nor will I rest from my labors until, by the blessing of God, I have seen an end of the abuses which bind England to the ground, and the mists dispersed from the eyes of the ignorant; and the chains drop from the hands of the slave!’

That man is still alive. Cheer him on to victory—hold up his hands—strengthen his heart—give him PUBLIC OPINION (tremendous cheering) as his fulcrum, and upon it he will move the odious and detestable fabric to its foundation; but when it tumbles to the ground, I hope that not one of the gentlemen from St. James’s street will fall beneath its ruins. My Hon. Opponent ventured forth another maxim, and what was that? A question of mercy, forsooth, to the slave! What! is it mercy to annihilate the slave—is it mercy to keep him in slavery, though you are told, in an accent of mercy, that he has got ‘four parlors and a saloon?’ (Cheers.) Is it mercy to let him now so live that his whole race shall be extinct in fifty years—in a condition in which they are dying so fast, that, in half a century, not one of the descendants of the present generation will be found? Is this mercy? I again ask, though we are told, with so much emphasis,

that the slave has 'four parlors and a saloon?' Mr. Borthwick asserted that the master could have no possible motive for flogging his slave. He appeared quite panic-struck at the mere idea that the master could flog his slave to death. Now I will give this gentleman a few facts. If the slaves are not murdered by any other means, they are murdered by what is very properly called economical oppression. Had he been at my former lectures he would have heard me prove that the planters cannot be humane if they would—that they cannot in all cases clothe and sustain the slaves, and that it is impossible in the present condition of the colonies to do them justice. He would have heard that the majority of them lodge in miserable cabins: if he does not know it, he ought to know it, and it is a pity that a deputation from St. James's street should come to Manchester to learn how the slaves in the West Indies are treated. (Cheers.) I will quote this gentleman's own words:—'It is not rational to believe that under any circumstances a master would flog his slave to death. It would be the destruction of his own property, and an act of wantonness and folly not conceivable,' and yet immediately afterwards, to show, if possible, that the character of slavery has changed for the better, he makes quotations which completely subvert his own argument. He (Mr. Borthwick) alluded to a pamphlet which I now hold in my hand. Here are these boasted authorities; and 'out of thy own mouth will I condemn thee.' (Cheers.) First, therefore, he calls upon us to reject the notion, that a master under any circumstances can be induced to destroy a slave, and yet shows, that in one establishment, 400 slaves were put to death for the fault of one.* (Applause.) The gentleman may take all the advantage of this. The case I am now about to quote has never been mentioned by me before. It is the celebrated case of the Mosses, and since the honorable gentleman cannot conceive any circumstance which could induce a master or mistress to flog a slave to death, he shall have the benefit of it. I quote the

* Mr. Thompson here referred to a pro-slavery pamphlet, quoted by Mr. Borthwick, 'entitled British Colonial Slavery compared with the Slavery of Pagan antiquity.'

words of that amiable man, Mr Huskisson, whom, I have no doubt, you all admired and deplored. In a communication to the Colonies he says,

‘ Kate was a domestic slave, and is stated to have been guilty of theft; she is also accused of disobedience, in refusing to mend her clothes and do her work, and this was the more immediate cause of her punishment. On the 22^d of July, 1826, she was confined in the stocks, and she was not released till the 8th of August following, being a period of seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed, that she could not sit up and lie down at pleasure, and she remained in them night and day. During this period she was flogged repeatedly, one of the overseers thinks about six times, and red pepper was rubbed upon her eyes to prevent her sleeping. Tasks were given her which, in the opinion of the same overseer, she was incapable of performing; sometimes because they were beyond her powers, at other times because she could not see to do them on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes: and she was flogged for failing to accomplish these tasks. A violent distemper had been prevalent on the plantation during the summer. It is in evidence, that on one of the days of Kate’s confinement she complained of fever, and that one of the floggings which she received was the day after she had made this complaint. When she was taken out of the stocks she appeared cramped, and was then again flogged. The very day of her release she was sent to field-labor, (though heretofore a house servant,) and on the evening of the third day ensuing was brought before her owners as being ill and refusing to work, and she then again complained of having had fever. They were of opinion that she had none then, but gave directions to the driver if she should be ill to bring her to them for medicines in the morning. The driver took her to the negro-house, and again flogged her; though, at this time, apparently, without orders from her owners to do so. In the morning, at seven o’clock, she was taken to work in the field, where she died at noon.’

[During the reading of the above extract, the strongest possible indignation was manifested by the auditory.]

Mr. Borthwick says, ‘if a man steals in this country you hang him; but if he steals in the Colonies, he is flogged’—ay, he is treated as Kate was. I did not introduce this case. It was my friend’s case, and he brought it under your notice to show that there is the same law for the master as for the slave. Now what should have been the charge preferred against the perpetrators of this crime? Murder. But a Grand Jury could not be found in the Island to return a bill, and they were therefore indicted for a misdemeanor, and on that charge they were tried—a misdemeanor, for putting a poor girl in the stocks for seventeen days—for rubbing capsicum in her eyes—and for flogging her till she died!

I will now give Sir James Mackintosh’s view on the subject, in reply to Mr. Irving, the Member of Bramber, and the would be Member for Clitheroe. (A laugh.)

would-be Member for Clitheroe, absolutely vindicated the conduct of the Mosses, because Esther Hibner had recently behaved ill to some children in London, and had been executed for the crime.

I refer to Lord Brougham once more:—

‘Mark the refinement of their wickedness! I nowise doubt, that to screen themselves from the punishment of death due to their crimes, these wretches will now say—they did indeed say on their trial—that their hapless victim died of disease. When their own lives were in jeopardy, they found that she had caught the fever, and died by the visitation of God.—But when the question was, Shall she be flogged again? Shall she, who has for twelve days been fixed in the stocks under the fiery beams of a tropical sun,—who has been torn with the scourge from the nape of the neck to the plants of her feet,—who has had pepper rubbed in her eyes to ward off the sleep that might have stolen over her senses, and for a moment withdrawn her spirit from the fangs of her tormentors—shall SHE be subjected by those accursed fiends to the seventh scourging? Oh! then she had no sign of fever! she had caught no disease! she was all hale, and sound, and fit for the lash! At seven she was flogged—at noon she died! and those execrable and impious murderers soon found out that she had caught the malady, and perished by the ‘visitation of God!’ No, no! I am used to examine circumstances, to weigh evidence, and I do firmly believe that she died by the murderous hand of man! that she was killed and murdered! It was wisely said by Mr. Fox, that when some grievous crime is perpetrated in a civilized community, we are consoled by finding in all breasts a sympathy with the victim, and an approval of the punishment by which the wrong-doer expiates his offence. But in the West Indies there is no such solace to the mind—there all the feelings flow in a wrong course—perverse, preposterous, unnatural—the hatred is for the victim, the sympathy for the tormentor! I hold in my hand the proof of it in this dreadful case. The Mosses were condemned by an iniquitous sentence; for it was only to a small fine and five months’ imprisonment. The public indignation followed the transaction; but it was indignation against the punishment, not the crime, and against the severity, not the lenity of the infliction.’

And now at the present day, these gentlemen tell you that slavery exists by the visitation of God—they take up this book (the Bible) and maintain that slavery exists, with its sanction and by its authority. I give these gentlemen joy of their case of the Mosses. Well, I will now give them Lord Goderich’s opinion, having offered to them the authorities of Fox, Mackintosh, and Lord Brougham, In the Parliamentary papers I hold in my hand is the case of a slave belonging to Mrs. Wildman. She trusted a white man with one of her pigs. Well, she went to be paid: was there any thing wrong in that? What did he do? He ordered her to be flogged, and PICKLE was afterwards rubbed in her back. Mr. Taylor, the manager, did all he could to bring the planter to justice, and yet he could not find justice enough in that blasted, wasted,

'The Honorable Member had had recourse to a species of argument respecting the case *Mosses*, which he remembered was used at the beginning of the debates on the proposed abolition of the slave trade. A great West India proprietor said, on the occasion to which he had alluded, that the house might as well judge of the morals of England by the records of the Old Bailey, as to judge of the character of the West India planters from a few occurrences selected for the purpose of making an unfavorable impression on the public. To this Mr. Fox replied—'I do not wonder that the slave trade should remind the honorable gentleman of the Old Bailey. Nothing can be so congenial as the two subjects. Nevertheless, I will point out to the honorable gentleman a contrast between them. At the Old Bailey we hear of crimes which shock our moral feelings; but we are consoled by the punishment of the criminals. We read of crimes as atrocious in the West India Islands, but our moral feelings are shocked at hearing not only of the impunity of the criminals, but of their triumph.' In adverting to the case of the *Mosses*, the honorable member had, most unfortunately for his argument, alluded to the case of Mrs. Hibner. The contrast which these cases presented between the moral feelings of the Bahamas, and the moral feeling of this country, was much more striking than the contrast to which Mr. Fox had formerly called the attention of the house. The offenders in the Bahamas having not only committed a murder, but committed it in the most barbarous manner possible, had been condemned to five months' imprisonment. What followed? A memorial had been presented to the Colonial Secretary, signed by what were called the most respectable persons in the colony, attesting that the character of these cruel murderers was generally one of great humanity, and praying for a remission of their punishment. That was the manner in which this atrocious crime was viewed in an island, the inhabitants of which were in no way demoralized, than as the possession of unbounded and irresponsible power always corrupted the heart of man. Nay, more, a public dinner, as a matter of triumph, was actually given by the chief persons in the colony, to the criminals who had barely escaped the most condign punishment for their offences. What was, on the other hand, the case in London when a criminal of the lowest order, this same Mrs. Hibner, whose crime was not aggravated by the consideration that she was possessed of information which ought to have taught her better, committed a similar offence?—He was not the apologist of the vindictive feeling exhibited by the populace on the occasion; but it was well known, that they departed from the humanity which they usually exhibited towards the unfortunate persons who underwent the last sentence of the law. They could not conceal their horror at a crime, which, however, was far less atrocious than that which had been committed by the *respectable Mosses*; and even rent the air with shouts of triumph when they witnessed the payment of the dreadful penalty. In justice, however, to the people of London, he must observe, that he remembered only three instances in which they had thus deviated from their usual feelings of commiseration for suffering criminals; and those were all cases in which the punishment of death had been inflicted for the crime of murder, accompanied with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Thus, even in their errors, the generosity which belonged to their general character was strongly evinced.'

This 'is the same law for the master as for the slave;,' and yet these inhuman monsters were sentenced only to five months' imprisonment, the whole of what are called the respectable inhabitants of the Bahamas having prayed for a remission of punishment. Ay, and Mr. Irving, the

would-be Member for Clitheroe, absolutely vindicated the conduct of the Mosses, because Esther Hibner had recently behaved ill to some children in London, and had been executed for the crime.

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sunken, withered, impious, infernal island—where God's temples are demolished—from which holy missionaries are banished—and where 20,000 converted slaves are deprived of a place in which to worship God—there was not justice to be found in the Island of Jamaica for a poor black woman, upon whose body was barbarously inflicted 200 lashes. Finally, Mr. Taylor wrote to Lord Goderich; and his Lordship after examining the evidence, concludes;

'Thus every effort was abortive, and thus it has been proved, that an attorney for an absentee proprietor may for months persevere in his attempt to obtain redress for an act of oppression committed on a slave under his charge, but unavailingly. The strong impression made upon my mind by the conduct of the Clarendon magistracy, coupled with similar proceedings in other parochial authorities, is, that Councils of Protection are a mockery, and that where slave evidence is rejected by law, the slave has scarcely the shadow of protection from ill treatment.'

I trust this documentary evidence will be deemed conclusive, and I hope the worthy deputation will state with what facts we illustrate the nature and practice of their darling system. They will send intelligence to St. James's street of this night's proceedings, and I fancy I see the conclave now assembled. Two sheets of letter post, closely written on both sides, is read. Irwell street Chapel crowded—great deal of the intelligence of the town present—three gentlemen in the pulpit besides the lecturer—the lecturer's friend attending with a blue bag filled with Parliamentary papers. (Laughter.)

I will now refer to a case which occurred on Lord Combermere's estate. And who is his Lordship? He is a large owner of West India property—a most humane man, and who selected his servants on his slave estates with the greatest care; yet what did his manager do? Why, he slaughtered the slaves on the estate by wholesale, so that in ten years; according to his system, the whole of them would have become extinct. The man was accused of being guilty of twelve murders—some of them were called manslaughters; yet there was not to be found in Nevis, or St. Kitt's, a jury who would find a bill against this man, that he might be put upon his trial. Lord Combermere at length heard of his atrocious conduct, and wrote to Lord Goderich on the subject. He says,

'I have to thank you very much for your letter of the 20th instant, together with papers relating to the abominable conduct of Mr. J. Waller, a

manager upon my estate at Nevis. Upon my return from the East Indies I received letters from Governor Maxwell, and from Mr. Swindall, (who manages my St. Kitt's property, and is agent also for that in Nevis,) detailing the oppressive and inhuman conduct of Mr. Walley towards the negroes, and informing me that Mr. Swindall had, immediately the facts came to his knowledge, turned Mr. Walley away from the management of the Stapleton estate. I do assure you, my dear Lord, that this circumstance gave me considerable pain, and occasioned me much surprise; for when I was Governor of Barbadoes I visited my estates in St. Kitt's and Nevis, and placed new people in the management of them. I contributed the use of the plough and wheel-barrow for manual labor, and gave strict orders that the slaves should not be hard worked, and that they should be well clothed and fed, and all their comforts attended to. It was most gratifying to me, after my return from the East Indies, that my instructions had been implicitly obeyed, and that no estates in those islands were in such fine order as mine, or the negroes so contented and happy. The gross and inhuman conduct of Mr. Walley, has given me much pain; and your Lordship may be assured that no expense or trouble on my part shall be spared in order to assist in bringing this criminal to justice: *but I fear we cannot expect a jury at Nevis or St. Kitts to do their duty.* Your Lordship knows me too well not to feel confident that every thing was done by me to bring this man to punishment, when I heard of his misconduct; but unfortunately I did not return from the East Indies till after his trial had taken place. I hope something will now be done in order to make an example of such a miscreant, and I have only again to assure you, that I have nothing so much at heart as the welfare and happiness of the negroes upon my estates, and Governor Maxwell and Mr. Swindall well know how anxious I have been respecting their treatment, &c. I need not add, that every effort shall be used by me for guarding against a recurrence of "such bad treatment of slaves upon my estates."

That's the same law for the master as the slave! (Hear, hear.) We shall see presently what *is the law for the slave.* Mr. Borthwick talked of the planters' wives, and of the planters' daughters, and he panegyricized the ladies of England, and talked of their virtue and beauty, but his compliments fell silent to the ground. He was doing that which never will succeed—he never will flatter the women of England into an approbation of slavery. (Tremendous cheering, mingled with shouts of 'bravo.') 'There were ladies in the West Indies,' he said, 'as fair as you, who have hopes, and fears, and sympathies in common with your own.' And is there not, I would ask, a negro heart, a negro's home, and a negro's wife? Has not the negro hopes, and fears, and sympathies? *Women of England! I will never celebrate your beauty, your virtuous endearments, until you grant that a negro's wife is as fair in the eyes of her husband as you are in yours.* (Loud applause.) A planter's son, the son of a slave, 'is your mother beautiful

his reply. 'Can a mother be anything but beautiful in the eyes of a son?' (Loud cheers, and a cry of 'one cheer more.') Ought we not, Mr. Borthwick observes, to proceed so as to secure safety for the slave and the interest of the master? Yes, Mr. Borthwick, we ought to save the slave from the inhuman fiends in the Bahamas, from the whips, the pegs, the field-stocks, the collars of St. Lucia—save the slaves from the bullets of Col. Grignon, and from the fangs of the magistrates of Jamaica. (Applause.) It was recommended to the Governor of Jamaica by the editor of the Jamaica Courant, to accept of a cargo of blood hounds from Cuba, to hunt down the negro.—Save him therefore from this sanguinary editor and the fangs of his blood-thirsty agents!

I shall presently call Mr. Borthwick to an account on the subject of manumission. I ask for safety for the slaves when they are engaged in the worship of God—I wish protection for the missionary—I desire to save Mr. Knibb's deacon from the scourge. The interest of the planter! What is he now? A bankrupt. What has he been for years? A pauper. What have we, the people of England, done for him? We have given him more money, in hard cash, for his support, than is subscribed for all our missionary, bible, and tract societies, and all our private and public benevolent institutions, if their amount were doubled or trebled. And yet Mr. Borthwick says, that we don't care for the planter. Ungrateful man! Not care for the planter? We nourished and brought him up, and in so doing, we corrupted him. Mr. Borthwick talked of slavery dying a natural death. Yes, it might have done, years ago, had we withheld our money. We suckled the monster, and are still sustaining him at the cost of millions annually. That gentleman knows, or ought to know, that it is not in the concentrated wisdom of Parliament, to legislate for the Planters, unless slavery be abolished. We can only pluck him from ruin by extinguishing the system, and restoring commerce to its uncorrupted and legitimate foundations.

The system has been proved to be a ruinous one, and how is that ruin to be avoided? Hear the remedy, ye wise men of St. James's street! Lord Goderich tells you not to despair, but to retrace your steps. In a despatch to the Earl of Belmore, dated 6th June, 1831, he says,



'The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily but too evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not, certainly, that the proprietary body should yield themselves to despair, and thus render the evil incurable; but that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has had so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes towards the result which we all so much deplore, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the *institution of slavery*. It is vain to hope for long continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependant on their own voluntary industry for their support; in which labor is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward; in which the land and its cultivators are habitually purchased and sold on credit; and in which the management of that property is almost invariably confided by an absent proprietary, to resident agents or to mortgagers, who are proprietors only in name. Without presuming to censure individuals for the share they may have taken in maturing this system, I cannot but regard *the system itself* as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just. Regarding the present Orders as a measured and cautioned, but at the same time, a decided advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, I must, on that account, regard it as tending to the cure of the pecuniary embarrassments which it is said to enhance.'

In our friend's reply he distinctly stated, that it was not the wish of the planters to maintain slavery an hour beyond the time when the slaves were fit for freedom. If they were to consult economy, he said they would do it instantly. They acknowledge that slave labor is unprofitable. And now I will pin down my honorable opponent on this point. On the score of economy, they would manumit their slaves, because two thirds of them are children or aged, and therefore unable to work: WHAT THEN BECOMES OF THEIR CLAIM TO COMPENSATION? (Loud cheers.) But why do they not liberate the population? Hear it my friends and believe it if you can, they retain them from motives of the *purest humanity*. Compassion for the infant—sympathy and tenderness towards the aged and infirm, are the reasons why they defend the system. Hear it ye British matrons!—Ye know not the duties of the nursery.—Ye could not, or ye would not, train up your piccaninnies in the way they should go.—They would starve if they were free.—The negro mother would 'forget her sucking child,' she would 'not have compassion on the son of her womb,' and therefore the West India Committee feels constrained, from principles of heavenly charity, to care for these infant outcasts. (Tremendous applause.) Hear modern philanthropists! Yours is a misguided be-

Ye know not what ye do. Slavery is based upon humanity. The old would want wine. Wine did I say? Mr. Borthwick told you they had wine. But I suppose this wine is to be found in the spacious habitation the same gentleman described. (A loud laugh.) A dwelling consisting of four parlors and a saloon (renewed laughter;) and when instead of the destitute cabin of the slave, you find this delightful and commodious retreat, then, and not till then, will you find the negro regaling himself with wine, supplied him by his most amiable master. (Great cheering.)

My learned opponent then proceeded to a discussion on the sinfulness of slavery, and you recollect how hard he labored this part of his argument. He went to the 25th chapter of Leviticus, and hung his whole defence of the abstract principle, upon the 45th and 46th verses.

'Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession.

And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but, over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another.'

Now he knows, or ought to know, that this slavery has ceased, and has *not* lasted for ever. He knows that the Jews have not slaves now. If they now retained the Canaanite and the Hittite in slavery, he might found an argument on the passage. But he who gave the command, at the same time knew when their dispensation would end; and he provided in its stead a dispensation of love. (Great cheering.) But my opponent did not quote other parts of that law. Why did he not also quote this passage from the xxi. chapter and 16th verse of Exodus?

'And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.'

(Great cheering followed the reading of this passage.)

He knows, or should know, that according to his own argument, there ought to be no slavery but by the express command of God. Let him, then, quote his authority for our holding the negroes in slavery. (Applause.) Let him not ground his advocacy on the state of servitude in Judea. As fared the master so fared the slave. If the master had white bread the slave was not to have brown—if the master had old wine the slave had not new—if the one

had a soft bed the other had not a hard one. In our colonies is this the case? Is there any comparison between the table of the planter and the table of the slave? What has the slave? What are his yams, his plantains, his rotten herrings, his horse beans to sustain life in comfort? There is evidence in this chapel that the deficiency even of this sort of food compels them frequently to go out to pilfer; and in Antigua the planters having no credit to import provisions, actually permit their slaves to go out to rob! In Jamaica, where provisions are abundant, the slaves all keep themselves and their masters besides. Yet you are told that if the slaves were manumitted they would starve!

Our friend here knows, too, that the Jews had a law which he had not ventured to quote. He knows that if a Hebrew slave behaved well he had his freedom at the end of seven years. He knows, too, that there was the year of jubilee—(hear, hear,)—when the slave became free, and went out of the house of his master laden with liberal gifts. (Hear, and loud cheers.) I appeal to you as Christians—I appeal to him, if the trump of jubilee was ever heard in the West India Islands. (Great applause.) He knows it never was heard. Then, after quoting the Jewish law, he tried to bring the precepts of Christianity to his aid, but it will be in your recollection how he—*boggled*, as the Yorkshireman would say, at the injunction ‘do-do-do unto all men as you would they should do unto you.’ Yes, and he might have ‘boggled’ in that way till eternity dawned, before he could have found a sanction for that horrid system in the Christian volume. How was this holy religion announced, ‘Glory to God in the highest, and on the earth peace, good will to men.’ (Enthusiastic cheering.) Oh, but, says he, St. Paul sent back Onesimus to Philemon! (Laughter and applause.) The SAVIOUR came to preach deliverance to the captive, and said, ‘All things whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them. Yes, but St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon! (Renewed laughter and cheers.) And to the question ‘Who is my neighbor,’ what was the answer? Here it is from the 10th chapter of St. L.

“But he, willing to justify himself, said unto his neighbor?”

And Jesus answering said, A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

And by chance there came down a certain priest that way : and when he saw him he passed by on the other side.

And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was: when he saw him he had compassion on him,

And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him.

And on the morrow when he departed, he took out two pence, and gave them to the host, and said unto him, Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.

Which now of these three thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among thieves ?

And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

[Loud cheering followed every passage.]

Yes ! resumed Mr. Thompson, this is all very beautiful : but then St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon ! (Great laughter.) Well then about this Onesimus. In the first place, does the gentleman know that this Onesimus was a slave in the sense that the negroes in the West Indies are slaves ? Second : Did Philemon possess a property in his life and limbs, as the West India slave owners say they have in the life and limbs of the negroes ? He should have proved this before he justified slavery, because St. Paul sent Onesimus back to Philemon. We find in the 18th chapter of Matthew, that a certain king would take account of his servants. Now the word *doulos* translated servant there, is the same which is translated servant in the epistle to Philemon ; and we find there, that one unfaithful *doulos* owed his master ten thousand talents. How could an abject slave owe ten thousand talents ? But mark the conduct of his master. He orders the slave and his family to be sold, that he may be repayed. He sells his own property to pay himself ? I may perhaps illustrate the folly of this conduct, supposing *doulos* to mean slave, by a homely simile. A horse in a stable slips his halter, and eats some beans out of a sack, and the master says, 'Oh thou wicked and ungrateful horse ! did I not give thee hay enough, and yet hast thou broken loose and ate up this sack of beans ? Though thou art mine, and though thou hast cost me fifty pounds, I will punish thee for this. I will sell thee to-morrow, though I should lose

by thee, that I may repay myself for the beans thou hast eaten.' (Great laughter.)

Suppose this *doulos*—this slave according to the West Indian translation, runs away, and becomes a convert to principles that he knew not before—that he is recognised and sheltered, as St. Paul kept Onesimus, and that he is sent back with a message, 'I send you back your runaway.' In such a case no doubt the slave owner would say, 'Ay, to be sure, let me have him!' But what does St. Paul say. Does he bid Philemon take Onesimus and treat him as the poor boy was treated for running away with his own naked body? No! Does he say 'take him and hang him?' No! Does he say 'flog him?' No! Does he say 'chain him?' No! Does he say 'put a collar on him?' No! He says 'receive him not as a servant, but as a brother.' (Long continued cheering.) He bids him to esteem him as more than a servant—as a brother beloved.

But the St. James street gentlemen like to quote the 7th chapter of Corinthians. It is a favorite passage with them, and I wonder why our friend missed it the other evening. It is said, 'Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.' Now were I talking to the slave, I would say, be patient, submit to the wrong, care not for the chains, but wait. Stand still, and see the salvation of God, and I will go to England and represent your case there, and endeavor to affect such an alteration of the law as may procure your redress. But will any man libel the character of St. Paul, by saying that when he uses such language to the slave he exhonourates the master? No; he says, 'art thou called being a servant? care not for it.' This implies a wrong, but does not justify it. So and so has wronged me, says one. Well care not for it, advises another. Bear in mind that there is no slavery with God. But if you must be free it must be in a higher state, and use your servitude rather to subserve this greater end. Ye are bought with a price, and in this sense ye cannot be the *doulos*—the slave of any man. (Cheers.)

I now come to a very important part of the gentleman's lecture. He said, that as the representative of the West India proprietors, he would say that he would give freedom to the slaves as soon as they are in the condition that

Onesimus was. Then I claim it for the Methodist converts. (Applause.) In the name of those who worship in this place—In the name of God—I claim it for the Methodist converts in the West Indies—in the name of the venerable George Marsden (who was present) I claim it for them. There are many Onesimuses there. Many whose names, though they are recorded on the parchments of men as their property, are written in the book of life. I have them, says their God and our God, and their names are written 'on the palms of my hands.' I claim it for the Baptist converts. (Cheers.) I claim it for Mr. Knibb's communicants. I claim it for Swiney, whose back was scourged for praying for the safety of his master. (Great cheering.) I claim it for the Moravian converts—I claim it for the Church converts—I claim it for all who love the LORD JESUS CHRIST. (Enthusiastic cheering.) Are *they* free? Perhaps our friend will reply to that. But I came not here to enter into disquisitions of abstract rights, but to put an end to real injustice—real infamy. I came not here to discuss abstract metaphysical questions, but to endeavor to put an end to the debasement of the sufferers, and of those who are parties to its continuance.

Then he gave us a very beautiful quotation from Juvenal; to show you that slavery should exist now, he shows you the cruelties practised many years ago; that ancient cruelty should justify modern crime. Behold this tree; it never has brought forth good fruit. Make ancient slavery a thousand times worse if you will, there is no security in modern slavery; and though one only may be slain to-day, 400 may be slain in one establishment to-morrow. And this quotation is made in a Christian country. If this be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Shame to the St. James's street conclave, that they cannot find better arguments; but they shall see presently, that slavery in 1832 is a hundred times worse than it was in the days of the Romans. One of my opponents, who, judging from appearances, was apparently pot-valiant, said I suppose Mr. Thompson has never been in the Colonies. What is his inference from that? Why, that my evidence ought not to be received; but I never gave him any evidence of my own. I believe his friend has never been in the Colonies, if so, the same reasoning will apply to him.

It was wrong in him thus to attack his friend by a side wind. It has been very justly said, 'Heaven protect me from my friends. I can take care of my enemies myself.' Send me no Mr. Franklin to help me. But to return. The gentleman was dishonest as an argumentative speaker. He alluded merely to horrors said to have been committed and not fit to be told in that assembly, but he never gave us one proof of their truth. I will give you proofs, however, from the *St. James's Chronicle*, and from the *Morning Post*. These proofs are contained in a letter dated Feb., 1832, without name, and the part of Jamaica from whence it came not alluded to at all, addressed to a physician in Glasgow, who is not named, and written by a person, who had been six weeks on the island during all which time martial law had existed against the negroes. He stated that 14 women were found amongst a party of negroes in the woods by a body of soldiers sent in pursuit of them, and two of them were in a most horrible state with their thighs broken. Can such things be believed? The writer of this letter, who, bear in mind, has been six weeks on the island, goes on to state the difference in the condition of the slaves in that country and the laboring population in this. The slaves there, he says, have horses of the best quality to ride upon, not donkeys, nor mules, but horses of the best description. They dress superbly, says he, not neatly, not comfortably, but superbly. They have also, says he, domestic animals of every description. When Mr. Franklin got up, as if from amidst the thunder of his friend's eloquence, a flash of lightening had come forth and annihilated his memory, and cried out 'the man who says that the negro is in a degraded, demoralized and debased state, utters a premeditated falsehood.' He had forgotten what his friend had said on the subject. (Hear, hear, hear.) If this was the truth, he had better have kept it in; he might have spared his friend; he might have refrained from giving him the lie direct in a public meeting. To illustrate the credit due to them, who would grant abolition, BUT NOT NOW, I will read an extract from the *Jamaica Courant*, a paper edited by a member of the assembly, a paper avowedly the organ of the planters. The *Courant* says, in relation to the Baptist Missions, he hoped they would have justice done them; and what was

this justice ? ' We hope they will be hanged in the woods of Trelawney ! '

' Our primary ardor has been unabated. We have never allowed these deluded wretches time to rest; night and day have we been at them, and have made terrible slaughter among them. And now, at the end of a six weeks's campaign, we are neglected—not thought of, because the Governor must have a little fun with Tom Hill and his yacht. The few wretches that are now out, are hiding in the cane-pieces, and we occasionally get a bullet or two at them. On Sunday morning five were shot, who were fallen in with and attempted to escape.'

Miserable wretches, shot at for attempting to escape from Christian men on a Sabbath morning !

' I shall not consider that we are safe, although all this havoc has been made among the rebels; although they may have now found the inutility of opposing the strong force which can be opposed to them, until we can fall on some plan of getting rid of the infernal race of Baptists, which we have so long fostered in our bosoms, and demolishing their bloody pandemoniums.'

This is Jamaica attachment to the cause of freedom !

' I cannot allow the post to start, without saying that I have remained long enough at Falmouth to see the Baptist and Methodist Chapels pulled down. This good work was accomplished this day, by the troops after their return—conquerors from the seat of war. Lots of groans as you may imagine, from the Saints and their followers. It is impossible for me to give you a description of the appearance of our brave Militiamen on their arrival in this town. The poor fellows cut a miserable appearance: you could not actually tell whether they were black, white, yellow, or any other color.'

Let Bruce know that the great and glorious work has commenced. It is now ten o'clock, and all hands at work, demolishing the Baptist and Wesleyan Chapels. The Methodist Chapel is down, and the men are hard at work at the Baptist's. The roof of the latter is not yet off, but so much injured, as to make it as well off as on. It is standing, true, but supported by a few posts only. The men have gone for fire hooks to complete the work they have undertaken. There is the devil to pay here to day (as you may suppose) among the Saints and their followers.—Weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth—wringing of hands, and groans, interrupted at times, with curses and imprecations on the soldiers.'

Here are the victorious troops of Jamaica. You have heard of the Duke of Wellington and his armies amidst the pealing of organs, kneel down and return thanks to God that the arms of our country have been victorious. Here are the Jamaica troops. Do they behave thus? Do they thus enter the hallowed place? With hands reeking with the blood of their fellow-creatures, they instantly set on and pull down the houses of God. (Shocking.)

' I trust there will be no occasion for apology in a stranger addressing you, as no doubt you will feel the same pleasure in pursuing this as I did in witnessing the act which forms the subject of my communication.'

We have heard from those gentlemen the danger of emancipation. If the negroes had learned to pull down

churches, they would have been fit for freedom—if they could come with their hands reeking in human blood, and tar and feather a holy man, they are fit for freedom,—but no, not yet, they are not fit for freedom; they are not yet sufficiently assimilated with these blood-thirsty beings.

‘I write in the hope of this reaching you through the way-bag, as the post office has long since been shut. Some true-hearted Jamaicans have truly ennobled themselves this night, by razing to the earth that pestilential hole, Knibb’s preaching shop. Verily, friend, they have not spared Box’s also. He no more will be able to beat the roll-call to prayers, nor the tattoo upon the consciences of the subscribers of *macs*—our poor deluded slaves. In plain English, not one stone has been left standing—nay, not even the corner one; and I hope that this goodly example will be followed from Negril to Morant.’

Here is a blasphemous allusion to the chief corner stone,—that, which, if it shall fall upon a man shall crush him to powder; but I forbear. I could go on with a number of these extracts from the Courant.—I have numbers of them, but I will read only one.

‘Between seven and nine o’clock on Saturday evening, the 7th (April, 1832,) as the Rev. Mr. Bleby, a Wesleyan minister, and his lady, were sitting to tea at their hired residence in Falmouth, a band of white and one or two colored ruffians rushed into the house and seized him, using extremely violent and abusive language, calling him a d—d preaching villain, &c. &c.; they then forced Mr. B. to the opposite side of the room, four or five holding him whilst one struck him violently on the head—they were all armed with bludgeons. One of the ruffians brought a keg of tar into the room, and, whilst some held him, others spread the tar with their hands over his head, face, breast, and clothes. Whilst this brutal assault was going on, the fellow named Dobson, who struck Mr. Bleby, attempted to set Mr. B’s pantaloons on fire, but was prevented by one of the gang. He immediately after applied the candle to the tar on B’s breast, but Mrs. Bleby seeing it dashed the candle from his hand, and it went out. In attempting to interpose between the ruffians and Mr. B., Mrs. Bleby was seized by one of them and dashed violently on the floor, the effect of which, our informant affirms, she still severely feels. Two of the gang attempted to lock her in the pantry, but she managed to elude their intention. By this time the alarm having been given, some people came to Mr. and Mrs. Bleby’s assistance, and commenced an attack upon the villains who were below stairs; this so alarmed those that were employed above, that they left Mr. Bleby and hastened to the assistance of their fellows, and eventually made their escape, but not until two or three had received the drubbing which they richly deserved—one so much so as to endanger his life. About this time Mrs. Bleby with her child escaped, through the crowd, without her bonnet and one shoe, the villains having first bedaubed her and her child (about five months old) with tar!! Mr. B., who was guarded by a party of colored and black young men, took shelter in a neighboring house. Mr. Miller, with a party of the 22d regiment, soon after arrived on the spot, to whom Mr. B. stated what had occurred, and claimed protection at their hands. Mr. B. was taken to the barracks for the night, and Mrs. B. was kindly sheltered by Mrs. Jackson, the lady of the Clerk of the Peace, who offered her all requisite assistance. On Sunday the attack

was to have been renewed, but it did not take place. As a specimen of Falmouth justice, the young men who went to Mr. Bleby's assistance were disarmed, *by authority*, and are to-day to be tried by a court martial for the *crime* of protecting a Missionary, his wife, and harmless infant!!!'

But I need not dwell longer upon these facts. Again the Courant states.

'There is no longer a hive for the drones; the bees have beat them away, and destroyed their hives; no longer have they a shelter to collect maccaronies in, and away they must go. With what pleasure did I witness the conduct of the brave and intrepid men of the St. Ann's Regiment, while performing that which ought to have been done by the Trelawney Regiment—demolishing the Baptist and Methodist Chapels. This work commenced at eight o'clock; and is still going on; by morning there will not be a stone left standing. I trust the example thus set in Trelawney, will be followed throughout the island: with this difference, that the inhabitants of every parish will do their own duty, and not require others to perform it. It was highly amusing to see the "*Cobbler's*" flocks in the streets, groaning and wondering where their *preachers* would now get money to build other Chapels.

Is it to come to this, that when the danger is supposed to be over, that the preachers of all denominations, who found it *prudent* to quit the country, should assemble in Kingston, and pretend to be instructors of each other, and point out how they are in *future to conduct themselves*? Their treason to the country has been discovered, and by a show of about thirty vagabond preachers, who dare not show their *noses* out of Kingston, they are endeavoring to excite a sympathy for their sufferings! The time has past, and their conduct is now understood, and none but those who encourage rebellion would, for one moment, countenance the conduct they are pursuing. If they really are the servants of the Lord Jesus, what have they to be afraid of? Their master performed many miracles, but alas! he was crucified—a consummation which we devoutly pray his pretended servants may experience; and as we intend shortly to publish an almanac, we shall be happy to canonize these gentry, by placing their names as Saints, in *black letter*. Now for the oration. The *Rev.* bawler addressed his thirteen culprits, and asked them if *their* mission was not one of peace? The poor d—ls, of course, nodded assent. He then remarked, with a degree of energy which we are sorry was not exerted in a good cause—*Are you not ambassadors from God?* Another nod! Then said the preacher, *persevere*—here he made a pause of a few seconds, and then told the *criminals again* to persevere in maintaining peace and good order!!!! These men are very kind, and no doubt *preach peace* on earth, and good will towards all men! The dear *babes*, how we love them! Merely because we know they love *us*!! We are, however, not bigots, either in politics or religion, and if they could point out the same number of *good* men among them as would have saved Sodom and Gomorrah, we would like Lot "*beg for them*," but as we know that such a number could not be found, we hope they may be *ordered* to "*march*" at a moment's warning, without sustaining a loss equal to that which poor Lot experienced.'

'He that has ears to hear, let him HEAR;,' and if Mr. Borthwick replies to this, I shall have a minute of it; if he does not, it is because he cannot. (Cheers.)

'Since our last, we have received accounts of the destruction of every one of those pandemoniums of insurrection and rebellion, the Baptist preaching shops, from Savanna-la-Mar to Brown's Town, in St. Ann's.

They have been destroyed partly by the Militia and partly by some of their own followers, who have had their eyes opened by recent events, which have taught them that the Baptist Parsons were not the Sovereigns of Jamaica. Several of the Wesleyan Chapels have also been either totally or partially destroyed; a fit but trifling retribution for the loss these men have caused to the proprietors of those estates that have been burnt by the incendiaries, who were instigated to commit the crimes, for which so many of them have suffered by these preachers. We can only say in the words of the Reformer, John Knox—'To get rid of the Rooks effectually you must destroy their nests.' As to the rooks—the preachers—we would recommend the advice of our staunch friend JAMES M'QUEEN, to be observed towards them:—'Tar and feather them wherever you meet them, and drive them off the island, excepting always those who may merit a greater elevation—a more exalted distinction.

I have only one more extract to give you. It is a despatch from Colonel Grignon to Sir Willoughby Cotton, dated Montego Bay, January 2d, 1832. Colonel Grignon was one of the foremost of them who at a meeting in July 1831, called on the planters to resist the orders in council, even to blood. He is the manager of Salt Spring estate for a gentleman in London. The extract runs thus:—

'On the 29th, I received information that a large body of negroes were assembled at Chester Castle, and I proceeded with a detachment of the regiment to that place, having first given directions to the officers commanding the Westmoreland, to meet me there with one company. *The negroes had, however, fled,* and I saw nothing of the Westmoreland detachment. On my return to quarters, I observed the negroes at Montpelier new works, assembled in a large body, setting fire to the trash houses.'

Setting fire to trash houses. This was the head and front of their offending. Does the gallant Colonel exhort them to disperse? No. Does he threaten them? No. Does he fire blank catridges over their heads? No. You shall see what he does.

'*I immediately ordered the detachment, who were all mounted, to dash into the mill yard, and the rebels were all dispersed.* In this attack I understand, *from information* received, that there were *two of them killed and one wounded.* Upon this occasion I have to notice that Ensign Reanie, with a small advanced detachment was extremely active, and throughout the whole duty which the regiment had to perform I was ably supported by this officer.'

What a piece of courtesousness this, to compliment the gallant officer, for his activity in driving away a few unarmed negroes, who might have been dispersed by a constable's staff! But it is upon the old principle of 'You tickle me and I'll tickle you.' (Great laughter.)

'Upon my arrival at quarters I found the company of the St. James's regiment had arrived, under the command of Captain Ewart, at about five o'clock. *At about seven the rebels advanced upon us in four columns.*'

What! were these rebel negroes so soon martialized as

to march down upon them in four columns? Men who knew no more of military evolutions than a pig knows of a fortnight! Coming down upon them, tramp, tramp, tramp, in four columns! (Laughter.) This is what I call making up a story, and if you wish to see a specimen of the art of making up a story, read the *Manchester Courier* of Saturday last. (Cheers.) If there be any spark of honor, truth, or honesty in the gentlemen who are opposed to me, they will give the lie to that *Courier*. (Tremendous cheers.) Who gained a hearing for that opposition on Monday? I did. (Cheers.) Who gained them a hearing again on Tuesday? I did, or they never would have been heard. (Great cheering.) And yet, what does this veracious journal say? It says, 'Mr. Borthwick was again interrupted in his argument by an uproar, compared to which the scenes we have frequently witnessed on Peterloo amongst an assembly of radicals of the lowest grade were perfectly calm and decorous.' I say if the gentlemen have any spark of truth about them, they will give the lie to that *Courier*. (Cheers, while a person in the gallery shouted out, 'Let us groan,' and several groans were heard.) But enough of that, let us return to the Colonel.

'They came down upon us in four columns.'

I am afraid my friends you are thinking I am alluding to four columns of the newspaper. (Laughter.)

'They came down upon us in four columns. The first body moved upon the trash houses.'

Their greatest hostility seems to have been against these trash houses.

"The first body moved upon the trash houses, to one of which they set fire, and became engaged with Captain Ewart's company, and picquet guard of the Western Interior, under Ensign Gibbs. *The officers and men behaved in the most gallant manner, and shortly dispersed the enemy.* This division from the statement of Captain Ewart, consisted of 40 men. The three other divisions, attacked the main body of the West India regiment, who had been formed into a solid square, and kept up a considerable firing of musketry upon them.'

Does he remonstrate with these men? Does he advise them to disperse? Does he entreat them? No; he orders his men to fire upon them. They kept up a very rapid fire. This is West India slavery. (Murder.)

'The regiment reserved the fire until the rebels had advanced within thirty or forty yards, when they commenced a very rapid fire, which continued for about 20 minutes, when the enemy dispersed in all directions. The body of the enemy who attacked by the main road, could not have consisted of less than two hundred men. The number in the

other division I could not judge of, as they were covered by a stone wall fence, and the Hill house, but both divisions appeared to have many fire arms. *When all behaved with so much gallantry, it would be invidious to name any individual; at the same time, I cannot omit mentioning Mr. Rhodes Evans (a gentleman residing in the West Interior district, and who had volunteered his services,) and I am under great obligation for his able assistance.* I must also state that I am much indebted to Captain Balme for his suggestions to me during and after the engagement. I regret to add that in this encounter we had *one man killed, and forty wounded; and Major Kings and Sergeant Sewells—*

Had their throats cut? No. Their brains blown out? No. Mortally wounded? No. They had their HATS SHOT THROUGH. (Tremendous cheers, with laughter.)

This is the first time I ever heard of such a gazette as this. It is a complete proof that they had nothing important to write about. Where are these hats! would that we had them here. They ought to be sent down to posterity along with the memorials of Blenheim, Nile, and Waterloo. (Cheers.) They ought to be hung up in Westminster Abbey along with the trophies of their great victories, and the name of Colonel Grignon go down to glory with the illustrious names of Malborough, Howe, and Wellington. (Tremendous cheering.)

‘Their hats shot through, but they received no injury. I could not learn the exact number of the killed and wounded, but I understood afterwards, that *they admitted they had lost ten men killed, and twenty-five wounded.* The company of St. James’s regiment, together with the West India, lay under arms the remainder of the night.’

So much for the nature and the operations of a West India campaign!

Special objection was taken and special indignation expressed at my assertion, ‘that a slave could not call his life his own, his liberty his own, his wife, or his children his own.’ This was met only by a bare denial, and an attempt to prove that the slaves have liberty of conscience. Now, although I never said any thing about liberty of conscience, I am quite willing it should become a topic of discussion, because upon no one point will my opponent find himself more at a loss for facts than upon this. Have they liberty of conscience, I ask, when their chapels are pulled down? Has that man liberty of conscience, who, because he only says, ‘*LORD JESUS, save my master!*’ is thrown down and flogged, and then loaded with an iron collar, fettered to a felon, and forced to work on the highways? Is that liberty of conscience? A long letter, written by the Rev. George Bligh was then read by

Mr. Borthwick ; but the testimony of that gentleman was set against a thousand proofs that no liberty of conscience was enjoyed in the West Indies. On the subject of liberty of life and limbs, I will quote from a work entitled 'West Indies as they are ;' written by the Rev. R. Bickell, a clergyman of the established church, a member of Cambridge—a most singular coincidence this, as the gentleman recently in London, in the course of a debate described himself as having been *schooled* at Cambridge, to whom the testimony, therefore, of a brother Cantab must be peculiarly grateful—late naval chaplain at Port-Royal ; sometime curate of that Parish, and previously of the city of Kingston.

'The distress and terror among a gang of negroes, when the marshall's deputy, with his dogs, and other assistants, comes to levy in a large way, cannot be conceived by those who, happily for themselves, have never been spectators of such scenes, and can scarcely be described by those who have witnessed them. I was once on a coffee mountain (staying for a few days with a brother clergyman, who had permission to reside there) on which were about seventy or eighty negroes, the proprietor was much in debt, and was aware that one or two of his largest creditors had for some time wished to make a levy on his slaves to pay themselves ; but by keeping his gates locked, and the fences round the dwelling house and negro-houses in good repair, he had hitherto baffled the Argus-eyed deputy and his deputies. The night after I arrived on the property, however, I was awaked, about an hour before daylight, by a great noise, as of arms, with cries of women and children ; I at first scarce knew what it was, but in a few minutes a private servant, who did not belong to the property (and who was in the yard, beyond the reach of the seizers) came to my window and informed me that it was the marshall's deputies making a levy on the negroes, and that the noise proceeded from the clashing of weapons ; for some of the slaves, he said, had stoutly resisted. I then alarmed my friend, being nearer to the scene of action than he was, and we determined to go out to see that no improper use was made of the tremendous power given to these Cereberuses. By the time we arrived at the negro-houses the resistance had ceased ; for the negroes being divided, had been overcome by the myrmidons of the law, they being eight or ten in number. One poor fellow, however, was being dragged along like a thief by a fierce and horrid looking Irishman, who had been one of M'Gregors freebooters, and who, when we came near, grasped his victim more tightly, and brandished his broadsword over the poor creature with the grin and growl of a demon, as much as to say, you dog, I will annihilate you and them too, if they attempt to interfere ; though, of course, we had not the least intention of interfering ; we were only quiet spectators.'

So much for liberty of life and limb. Take a specimen, in that state of happy freedom, of food, raiment, &c.

'Children also in many instances are allowed to go quite naked, and I have seen boys and girls, seven or eight years of age, in a state of nature, running about some houses, who for the sake of common decency ought to be clothed ; and it is very common to see black boys and girls, twelve or thirteen years of age, almost men and women, in nothing but a shift or shirt, waiting at table ; so little are the decencies of life observed towards them.

What can be more absurd than to hear it constantly reiterated, that the negroes in our colonies are better fed and better clothed than the British peasantry?

None but a bigoted and low-minded planter, or some interested professional resident, who cannot return to reside in this country, would compare the coarse yams, and cocoas, and the stringy indigestible plantains, with a few bad or rotten herrings, to the wholesome bread of this country, and to potatoes and other fine vegetables, with a small portion of fresh meat or bacon, which the English cottager enjoys. I have seen a good deal of the state of the English poor, having served curacies in Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, and Wiltshire, besides having an intimate acquaintance with Devonshire; and I can conscientiously say, that I never saw any one, even a pauper, who lived in the mean, hoggish way that the slaves in the West Indies do.

I can assert with much truth, that the coarsest Irish potatoes, with a little milk and salt, are preferable to the negro yams and green plantains, at least, I would sooner have them; and I think most of the British poor would approve of my taste, had they an opportunity of judging.

The English poor are also much better clothed; for where is there a poor cottager that has not a decent cloth of fustian coat, of any color he pleases, with other parts of his dress suitable, independent of good and warm stockings, and sound shoes to keep his feet from the gravel and dirt? But what has the slave? He has for his best (from his master, as I before observed,) a large bawze surtout, which hangs about him like a sack, and would as well fit any person you please as himself; and, moreover, a pair of coarse trowsers and coarse shirt of Osnaburgh, which, with the coarsest kind of hat is his whole wardrobe; for this is the general livery or badge of slavery. The female slaves are clothed as much inferior to our poor women, and both negro men and women are without stockings and shoes, and generally go in a half-dressed state, viz: without coats or gowns; the women's petticoats up to their knees; and very often before fresh supplies are given out, many of them are in a ragged state, and some almost in a state of nudity; and yet it is said, they are better off than the poor in Great Britain!

What does my opponent now say to the blessings of Slavery—what becomes of his four parlors and saloon now—his wine for the old and infirm—and his thousand comforts, about which the English peasant knows nothing!

He next artfully appealed to the money-getting propensities of the people of England, and said the emancipation of the slave might lead to a diminution in the manufactures of this country, and stop the sale of British calicoes. In proof he instances the island of Hayti. I will now quote an article extracted from the Parliamentary paper, No. 178:—

HAYTI.—In a bulky Parliamentary document of last Session, numbered 578, entitled, "Papers relating to the American Tariff," we have discovered the following facts respecting the trade of Hayti with the United States. The exports from the United States to Hayti appear to consist of fish, oil, naval stores, cheese, flour, lumber, carriages, hats, saddlery, beer, shoes, iron, copper and brass ware, gun-powder, &c.; and the paper to which we refer, (p. 178,) states, that in the last year, (1826,) "The export trade with Hayti, despoised Hayti, in domestic products, amounted to 1,251,910 dollars,

equal to the whole of our exports to Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Spain and Portugal." And yet this is but a portion of that Haytian trade, which Mr. Mackenzie has labored so assiduously to deprecate.

Be not deceived—abolition would greatly increase our exports—the slaves are already fond of finery, and if remunerated for their labor would not be satisfied with the 9s. 6d. suit now supplied them by their owners; but would require from England such supplies of our manufactures, as would vastly benefit the country generally and those districts in particular, in which such manufactures are conducted. But admitting the truth of what the gentleman asserts, I would ask, What! is it come to this, that we are to continue the foul abomination, from a fear that we should spin less yarn, or weave less calico? No, the people of England are not such worshippers of mammon. If you witness an attempt to palliate slavery, by an appeal to the pocket, repudiate it, despise it; would you withhold liberty from the captive, that you might make a little more money by keeping him in bonds? Will you, who have just obtained the elective franchise, determine the question of liberty to others by a reference to the amount of your exports? The exports of Hayti were alluded to, but I would ask, if the poor Irish had all they want at home, would they send so much abroad? I refer confidently to the history of St. Domingo, and they who know that history will concur with me, that it affords an irrefragable proof of the safety of abolition. Not a stronger proof of the blessings of emancipation could be given, than that the population has doubled in twenty years. (Cheers.) In the West India islands there has been an absolute decrease of 50,000 in the population in ten years and a half. St. Domingo never rebelled until an attempt was made to bring its inhabitants back into bondage. The island is not blessed as our islands are with religion. No; they are better off without religion than our islands are with it. There are no religious slave owners there to drive Christianity into their backs with whips twelve feet long. If I am challenged to the proof, it shall be forthcoming.

Mr. Borthwick alluded to Sierra Leone, and said that every experiment there had utterly failed—that nothing but slothfulness, vice, and immorality prevailed; he broadly

asserted that the best conditioned of the free negroes there were worse off than the most abject slave in the West Indies, and that the happiest free man there was more miserable than the most wretched slave in Jamaica. I tell him it is a falsehood,—and he knows it. (Tremendous cheers.) He knows it to be a base, fabricated falsehood. I know not whether it was sent to him from St. James's; but if his employers so informed him, let him tell them that they have been furnishing him with lies. What, I now ask, constitutes a man's happiness? Is it herrings, yams, plantains, horse-beans, or a horse-whip? No! If he dares to reiterate his assertion respecting Sierra Leone, he shall have the whole history of that colony. (Hear, hear.) He says that the slaves should have religious instruction,—and that is an argument also which is continually in the mouth of the Marquis of Chandos; but let him tell me if there is one single instructor of Christianity on the Marquis of Chandos's estates in the West Indies?

I implore you to look at the other side of the question—the danger of delaying emancipation. Can the West India islands be in a worse condition than now prevails? Colored men are butchered, without the semblance of a trial—the frame-work of society is dissolving, and chaos is coming again. If we do not grant emancipation, they will liberate themselves. I shall conclude my reply with the remarks of a great man now deceased. He says,

‘Shame! that any should have been found to speak lightly of liberty, whose worth is so testified—whose benefits are so numerous and so rich. Moralists have praised it—poets have sung it—the Gospel has taught and breathed it—patriots and martyrs have died for it. As a temporal blessing, it is beyond all comparison and above all praise. It is the air we breathe—the food we eat—the raiment that clothes us—the sun that enlightens, and vivifies, and gladdens, all on whom it shines. Without it, what are honors and riches, and all similar endowments? They are the trappings of a hearse—they are the garnishings of a sepulchre; and with it the crust of bread, and the cup of water, and the lowly hovel, and the barren rock, are luxuries which it teaches and enables us to rejoice in. He who knows what liberty is, and can be glad and happy when placed under a tyrant's rule, and at the disposal of a tyrant's caprice, is like the man who can laugh and be in merry mood at the grave, where he has just deposited all that should have been loveliest in his eye, and all that should have been dearest to his heart. What is slavery, and what does it do? It darkens and degrades the intellect—it paralyses the hand of industry—it is the nourisher of agonizing fears and of sullen revenge—it crushes the spirit of the bold—it belies the doctrines, it contradicts the precepts, it resists the power, it sets at defiance the sanctions of religion—it is the tempter, and the murderer, and the tomb of virtue—and

either blasts the felicity of those over whom it domineers, or forces them to seek for relief from their sorrows in the gratifications, and the mirth, and the madness of the passing hour.'

This extract is from the pen of the late Dr. Andrew Thompson, of Edinburgh.

Having now occupied your attention for three hours and twenty minutes, I beg once more, for the fifth time, most cordially to express to you my thanks for the attention which you have afforded to me. I have explained the nature of the emancipation we seek; and the safety and justice of emancipation; the advantage of a system of free, in preference to one of compulsory labor.

All that I ask is liberty for the captive; a release from arbitrary and irresponsible control—and that he should henceforth be governed by equal laws—administered by judicial and responsible officers.

Let it no longer be objected, that we are surrounded by miserable and starving beings at home, and *therefore* ought to confine our attention within the circle of our own neighborhood. Let ours be a more enlarged philanthropy, which, while it forgets not the object which is near, goes out after the wretched children of oppression, now groaning for help in the Colonies. Far be it from me to be an unmoved spectator of the ills of those immediately around me; but while I gaze upon the most abject of the inhabitants of this island, I cannot help remembering that *here* the cup of misery *goes round*, and he who drinks it *to-day*, passes it to another *to-morrow*. The starving and the houseless of to-day are not the starving and houseless of to-morrow. *Here* hope animates all—the wheel of fortune is ever revolving—the scene is ever shifting, and the eye that weeps to-day, may sparkle with joy to-morrow. I only ask that this may be the condition of the slave—that he may exchange a state of abject slavery, in which his labor is exacted by the whip, for a state of naked freedom, in which, under the influence of the ordinary motives which stimulate men, he may become a cheerful and industrious peasant; a skillful artizan; or, an enterprising merchant. And shall I ask in vain? Shall I this night, appearing as I do, the advocate of 800,000 human beings to whom we owe a mighty debt, crave in vain the blessing of homeless—pennyless FREEDOM. It is impossi-



ble! the appeal to MEN to ENGLISHMEN, and to CHRISTIANS, cannot be ineffectual.

I have done. Once more let me thank you for this lengthened attention, and assure you, that I shall be ready to hear what more my opponent can say in defence of slavery, and should he fail to convince me, you may consider me pledged to give a second refutation, and to do again what I trust I have done to night—scatter to the winds of heaven the sophistries by which it is sought to uphold a system which insults the God of heaven, and degrades His image upon earth.

MR. THOMPSON'S LECTURE.

Report of the Proceedings at the meetings of Messrs. Thompson and Borthwick held at the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool, on the Evenings of August 28; 29, 30, 31, and September 6, 1832.—From a Supplement of the Liverpool Times.

It was announced last week, that MR. GEORGE THOMPSON, one of the advocates of the Anti-Slavery Societies, who has been lecturing in London, Manchester, and several other places, on the evils of slavery, would deliver a lecture on the same subject, at the Royal Amphitheatre, in this town, a place admirably suited, by its extent and accommodations, for the thousands who might naturally be expected to assemble together on a question of such vital interest and importance. We seldom remember to have seen so much interest excited on any subject, as has been exhibited by our townsmen within the last few days. As it was deemed desirable that both sides of the question should be laid before the public, after some negotiation between the West India body and the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, it was arranged that Mr. Thompson should lecture on Tuesday evening; that Mr. Borthwick should speak on Wednesday, on the opposite side; that Mr. Thompson should be heard in reply on Thursday,—and that the admission on all the three nights should be by tickets, equally distributed by both parties, in order to secure a select assemblage, and prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of those scenes of clamor and tumult which have taken place elsewhere. Upwards of 8,000 tickets were so distributed, and even then, almost up to the time of the meeting the greatest anxiety was exhibited to procure them, and hundreds of persons who applied were obliged to go away disappointed. At half past six



on Tuesday night, the hour fixed for the commencement of the proceeding, the Amphitheatre was crowded in every part, from the pit to the gallery, with a numerous and most respectable assemblage, the speaker, and several gentlemen of both committees, taking their station on the stage, where ample accommodations was provided for them, and for the gentlemen connected with the press.

With these few introductory remarks, we shall proceed to our summary report of the discussion.

MR. ADAM HODGSON, in taking the chair, said he felt himself called to a situation of great delicacy and difficulty, being, on the one hand, a member of the Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society, and on the other, and in some degree, the representative of the West Indian body,—bound to secure a fair and impartial hearing for both parties, without any reference to his own individual feelings and sentiments, which had been long before the public, and which nothing could induce him to abandon. He should endeavor to perform the duties of his station with firmness and impartiality, trusting to the support of the meeting; and he hoped that both parties would behave with the utmost order and decorum, abstaining from all manifestations of applause and disapprobation, and remembering that no cause whatever could be served by clamor, but might be materially injured by it. (Hear, hear.) After some further observations to the same effect, Mr. Hodgson concluded by saying that Mr. Borthwick would reply to Mr. Thompson, from the same place, on the following night, and by requesting for that gentleman the same patient and attentive hearing as that which he solicited for Mr. Thompson.

MR. G. THOMPSON then came forward, and said that, after an absence of twenty years from his native town, he trusted that he would not be deemed altogether a stranger where he appeared as an advocate of the great cause he was called upon to plead, and that, as an Englishman and fellow-townsmen, he would not be denied a calm, patient, and attentive hearing. He did not come to discuss the wonders of the heavens or the beauties of the earth, or to lecture upon any subject of science, nature or art, such as those to which other lecturers had called their attention; it was his painful and responsible duty to lay before

theme of sorrow, of misery, want, woe, and degradation,—of injustice, cruelty and oppression, as exhibited in the history, progress, and principles; and character of British colonial slavery; to point out the actual condition of 800,000 human beings now in a state of degrading bondage; and to ascertain what it was their duty, as Englishmen and as Christians, to do on this great and momentous question. That question was simply, whether, in the year 1832, there was justice enough, courage enough, piety enough, in the British nation, to declare, at once and for ever, that the system of slavery should be abolished,—a question involving the interests and welfare of all men who were held in slavery throughout the world. (Applause.) Christianity taught that they were to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them, and that they should remember those who were in bonds, as if they themselves were in bondage too. If they observed these divine precepts,—if they were disposed to yield obedience to the high behests of heaven, all worldly considerations must sink to nothing in their eyes before those sublime and all-comprehensive passages of Holy Writ. (Hear.) Religion taught them to consider all mankind, without exception, as their brethren and friends; and the time would come when even the oppressor of the negro would be compelled, with fear and shame, to own his victim as a brother, and to give an account of the wrongs and injuries that had been heaped upon him. (Hear, hear.)

‘Not only has the negro been denied the enjoyment of civil rights—not only has he been doomed to ‘hew wood and draw water’ for the white man; but the benefits of religion have been denied—his teachers have been persecuted and banished—the house in which he worshipped his God, and in which he was taught to lift his eyes in hope and confidence to one common Father—that house has been razed to its foundation; thus particularly, *even in the present day*, has his right to hope for immortality been denied, and he has been consigned to ignorance and vice, to the labor and treatment of a brute on earth, and the destiny of a brute hereafter. Yet his pale oppressor has proudly claimed immortality for himself, and has contemplated that immortality without dread of the judgment

awaiting him for his ruthless conduct towards his sable victim. But (and I thank Heaven) a title to immortality is not the exclusive prerogative of the white man; they must both die the same death—both mingle with the same earth—both be resolved into the same element—both be judged at the same tribunal—by the same rule—both admitted to the same heaven, or banished to the same hell. Yes! let the oppressor die! let men bear his corse to the tomb decked with the trappings of an earthly splendor! let them write his epitaph on marble, and celebrate virtues which he never had, and let them say, high on his escutcheon, RESURGAM, RESURGAM, RESURGAM! I shall rise again; and I will visit the grave of the lowly negro, the enslaved, insulted, degraded, and lacerated negro, and I will write upon the sod that covers his remains, RESURGAM, RESURGAM, RESURGAM! I shall rise again.'

He was not there to vilify any party; he was not there, as had been most falsely represented, to make an attack upon property and vested rights; but he stood there on Christian principles, only to claim for the negro equality of rights; to elevate the negro from that state of degradation in which the avarice of mankind had placed him; to bestow upon him not merely civil liberty, but, under the blessing of God, that more hallowed, more glorious, and more enduring liberty, which senators or magistrates could not give, and all the powers of earth nor hell take away.

‘A liberty unsung

By poets, and by senators unpraised,
Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
Of earth and hell confederate take away :
A liberty, which persecution, fraud,
Oppression, prisons, have no power to bind;
Which whose tastes can be enslaved no more.’ (Applause.)

He took his stand upon the broad and immutable principles of justice and mercy, truth and love, and asked whether Englishmen, on these grounds, would not open the prison doors and bid the oppressed go free; would not

vindicate their love of liberty before the whole world, and thus free themselves from the guilt of fostering, within the very heart of their dominions, the foulest system that had ever defiled the earth or insulted Heaven. (Applause.) He demanded immediate and total emancipation for the negro; not an emancipation from the restraints of law and justice to which Englishmen themselves were subject; but emancipation from the whip; emancipation from that odious and impious system which gave man the right of property in the bodies and souls of his fellow-men, and the substitution of public and recognised authority, for private and irresponsible power. He asked only for such an alteration of the law as would best promote the interests of all parties; as would secure to the negro the possession of all his rights; give safety to the planters, and provide for the proper cultivation of the soil. If he offended, that was 'the head and front of his offending.' (Applause.) He had not then time to trace the history and effects of slavery. Were he to do so he would have to carry them back 340 years, when Columbus first discovered those beautiful isles, now constituting the British West Indies, standing out like emerald spots in the waste of waters—the innocent and amiable inhabitants of which imagined Englishmen to be visitors from heaven, until they found how grievously they had been deceived; he should have to tell the horrid barbarities perpetrated by the Spaniards, and how, after having stained the earth with the blood of their victims, and almost depopulated the land, they were obliged to procure fresh victims to minister to their avarice and cupidity, and he should then come to the commencement of that odious and abominable traffic, in which this town had, unfortunately, so large a share, the African Slave Trade. It might be alleged that this was the crime of a former age; he admitted it; they might if they would, make him the representative of all the guilt incurred, but he begged, he implored them to allow him to make all reparation in his power to the sons and daughters of the oppressed, whilst it was in his power—whilst the colonies yet existed, whilst the victim still breathed. (Hear, hear.)

Sir J. Hawkins who first introduced this trade, told Queen Elizabeth, with consummate deception, that the

slaves had been removed with their own free will, and that the object of the merchants in removing them, was, forsooth, that they might be converted to Christianity. The Queen had her misgivings on the subject, and told Hawkins that if the slaves were dragged away from their homes without their own consent, he would bring down the vengeance of heaven upon the country, and fearful would be the consequences of the crime. (Hear, hear.) He had not now time to describe the scenes since transacted on the shores of Western Africa, in the prosecution of this horrid traffic—the ravaged towns, the smoking villages, the desolated plains, the deserts covered with victims, fainting, bleeding and dying by the way; he had not time to describe that floating hell—a slave ship—from whence continually proceeded the sounds of weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth—or the soul sickening scenes of the slave market—the passing of money from hand to hand, followed by the transfer of human and immortal beings, bought and sold like beasts of burthen—or to recapitulate the insults and wrongs, toils and woes, heaped on the heads of successive generations from that time even until now. For all these purposes the time would utterly fail, and he therefore came to that portion of the subject with which he had now more immediately to deal—namely, the present condition of the 800,000 human beings, now in bondage within the confines of the British dominions, and the duty of Englishmen towards this long injured portion of the human family. After adverting to the writings of the Rev. Mr. Godwin, Richard Baxter, the eminent nonconformist, Dr. Peter; Bishop Warburton, and Dr. Samuel Johnson, against slavery—and the mission of John Woolman, and Anthony Bennezet, through the United States, endeavoring to persuade the planters to give freedom to their slaves,—Mr. Thompson called the attention of the meeting to the facts that the Society of Friends had long ago declared slavery to be inconsistent with Christianity, that they had given up all their property in slaves—and that the holding of a single human being in bondage, was sufficient to exclude any man from their communion. (Applause.) Would to heaven, he said, that all denominations of Christians had imitated that holy and praiseworthy example! He would not then have had to appear before the

meeting to discuss the subject of slavery, nor would those who wished to gloss over the system have had the trouble of following him, to use the polite words of one of them, like his evil genius, thwarting his endeavors, and endeavoring to show that his Christianity was not the Christianity of the Bible.

'But, Sirs, you are my judges: have I libelled Christianity? Do I misstate its principles, its genius, its tendency, its doctrines, its precepts, its examples, when I say that they all conspire to teach me that I should love my neighbor as myself,—that I should feel the kindlings of charity toward all mankind, and that I should do unto others as I would that others should do unto me? I ask myself, should I like to be a SLAVE? I look upon the thousands around me, and I ask, Is there one here who would wish to be a SLAVE? And the answer which comes to me from every heart and every tongue is, *No*. Well, then, if liberty be good for *me*,—if it be good for *you*,—if it be good for our *brothers*, our *friends*, our *wives*, our *children*, our *neighbors*, and our *countrymen*;—if it be the wholesome atmosphere we breathe,—if without it we should become diseased, and wretched, and despised—then is it good for every man; and I claim it for the *negro*. If you say he knows not his own value, nor the value of liberty, I answer, he can never learn their worth in slavery. Freedom alone can restore him to the full dignity of his nature. Charge not his present degradation upon his Creator; say not he is the descendant of Ham, and therefore debased. Give him liberty—give him kindness—give him education; treat him with love, and own him as a brother, and he springs at once from the earth, and grows into the full stature of a rational, accountable, and immortal being.'

Mr. Thompson, in adverting to the famous decision of the Judges in Westminster, obtained by Granville Sharpe, that the moment a slave set his foot on English soil he became free, remarked that the slave thus enfranchised by the fiat of the laws, might be the most abandoned, degraded, and worthless of his race, and quoted the beautiful lines from Cowper's 'Task,'

'We have no slaves at home—then why abroad?
And they themselves, once ferried o'er the wave



That parts us, are emancipate and loose.
 Slaves cannot breathe in England ! if their lungs
 Receive our air, that moment they are free !
 They touch our country, and their shackles fall !
 That 's noble ! and bespeaks a nation proud
 And jealous of the blessing : spread it, then,
 And let it circulate through every vein
 Of all our empire, that when Britain's power
 Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.' (Immense cheering.)

After a brief history of the struggles which led to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and an eulogium on Wesley, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fox, Burke Sheridan, and other philanthropists who took part in those struggles, Mr. Thompson said that they were now met together to say whether something more did not remain to be done before England could be thoroughly purged from the guilt of slavery, and whether that something more was not the entire annihilation of slavery in the colonies. They were assembled to discuss the evils of slavery, and he begged the particular attention of those who were to reply to him, whilst he endeavored to show that slavery was contrary to the principles of humanity, the precepts of reason, and the dictates of a sound and just policy. One of the evils of slavery which met him on the threshold, was, that it invariably cursed the soil on which it existed, with sterility ;—he need not, he was sure, tell the inhabitants of Liverpool that the incessant reaping of ripe crops from the same soil must necessarily produce that sterility. Another of its evils was, that it had been the origin of the slave trade in all ages of the world. Another evil was, that it doomed an infant, even before it came into the world, to interminable slavery. They were told that the only reason for withholding freedom from the negro was, that he was not yet fit to receive the blessing ; but how did this apply to the unborn child ? Could he not be trained for liberty ? (Loud applause.) Pharaoh pleaded the same excuse for detaining the Israelites till the judgments of God compelled him to release them ; and Pharaoh's reason was of the same nature as that of modern slave owners,—he wanted more bricks, and they wanted more sugar. (Laughter and applause.) He asked liberty for every infant born in the



British colonies. Tell him not of the alleged inhumanity of negro mothers—tell him not that planters and drivers were the best nurses for children. Did not the raven, the tigress—did every brute beast provide for their young ; and could it be said that the negro mother would not provide for hers ? (Applause.) Did the planters know how much responsibility they were creating for themselves in taking possession of an immortal soul ? At the last awful day would they be able to answer the question why they had enslaved their fellow-man ? What might that child have become had he not been doomed from the womb to till the ground as a slave, under the infliction of

‘Stripes that Mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast ?’

Another evil of slavery is, that it depresses the body by excessive labor, while it takes from the slave all the ordinary motives of exertion. Mr. Thompson here gave a very beautiful exposition of the motives and incentives which induce the English laborer to pursue his toils with cheerfulness and contentment. The statesman, the soldier, the sailor, and every class of persons who engage in laborious pursuits, either mental or bodily, are actuated by similar motives. But why toils the negro ? Toils he for a wife ? He may say with Othello,

Alas ! I have no wife !

While engaged in his task he might hear the shrieks of his wife in some adjoining field, laid down by the command of some cruel overseer, and writhing beneath the murderous lash. She is not *his* wife, for she is the property of another. Toils he for children ? Toils he for liberty—for himself, or that he may transmit the boon of freedom to his posterity ? Toils he for remuneration, for fame, for promotion, or any of the other rewards of labor ? No. Then why does he toil ? The whip is behind him ! Fear is the only impulse which urges him to continue his degrading and laborious task. Slavery entailed on the slave all imaginable suffering. There was no species of misery, or wretchedness, or oppression to which he was



not exposed and subjected. If this were denied, he would load the table, and overwhelm his opponents with evidence of the fact. They might, perhaps, be told, as he had been, that the slave had four parlors and a saloon in the middle! (Laughter.) He could prove that the privations and sufferings of the slave were extreme, even in the best regulated colonies, and under the most humane masters. Among the evils of slavery were poverty, nakedness, starvation, imprisonment. If this were denied, he could refer to a Parliamentary report which he had in his hand, and which it was declared by the West Indians themselves, that they had not a sufficiency of food for their slaves. Such therefore was the 'economical' oppression of the system, as it had been appropriately termed, that the slaves even of the best masters were exposed to poverty and starvation. As for imprisonment, the bailiff, with his marshal and his dogs, might come in the middle of the night, seize the slave in his cabin, and sell him by auction next morning to the highest bidder, for the payment of his master's debts. To this the slaves of the kindest master were liable; even the master, by unusual kindness to his slaves, might bring himself to premature ruin. It was said that there was slavery here. But he would affirm that there was no slavery in Britain at all approximating to the West Indian slavery. Could they produce a man or woman, the poorest and most wretched in the land, whose names were engrossed on parchment and mortgaged to a money lender? Could a man be seized during the night by a civil officer, and sold by auction for his master's debts? Or could they find in the country a man so poor or so miserable that he would exchange his condition for that of the negro? (Cries of 'Not one'—'thousands'—'not one.') Another evil of slavery, and he begged that it might be noticed in the reply, was the fearful decrease in the slave population. In our sugar colonies, with one exception, the slave population were dying off so fast, that in something better than half a century they would be extinct. Mr. Thompson here broke into an eloquent denunciation of those who wished to delay the emancipation of the slaves—who would coolly wait until slavery and death had done their work, till desolation had overspread the colonies, and the slaves had become

extinct, and till, when at length they would be merciful, there would be none to receive their mercy. Why should they wait? 'What! wait? and let weeping mercy plead in vain? and let insulted justice demand her rights in vain? Wait? and let ignorance, and vice, and cruelty, brooding o'er the colonies, do their soul destroying work? Wait? Ay, WAIT? and magnanimously charge it upon our posterity to do that which *we* are either ashamed or afraid to do. But will *tortures* wait? Will the *whips* wait? Will the *money-lender* wait? Will *danger* wait? Will *Heaven* wait? (Applause.) Humanity and reason, and mercy and justice, and truth, and love, and religion—every thing on earth that was worth prizing, or in heaven that was authoritative—united in saying, 'Let them go.'

Another evil of slavery was the inequality of the laws. In every island there was one law for the master and another for the slave. Another evil, was the mode of administering of justice, as it was called, even under these laws, unequal as they were. He had been taunted by being shown a West Indian code for the protection of the slave. But on examination it was found to be not the code of Jamaica, but some other document got up by the West India body in the form of an act of the legislature, for the purpose of deception. A law indeed had been passed, and was called, 'a law to restrain arbitrary punishment;' but that law allowed any driver, overseer, or bookkeeper to inflict 39 lashes with a cart-whip of Jamaica at his own discretion. What was a Jamaica cart-whip? Let them ask Mr. Barret, a member of the colonial legislature, and he would tell them that 39 lashes of a cart-whip might be made to inflict as much punishment as 500 lashes with a cat-o-nine-tails. Let them ask Mr. Barret, the missionary. He saw a man driving some mules, and he asked a negro driver who was passing with his whip around his neck, to apply it to one of the mules. The driver did so, and with one cut of the whip laid the flank of the animal open.—Let them ask Mr. Knibb, the missionary, who had lately been exposing in this town some of the evils of slavery. (He, Mr. Thompson) asked him at Manchester, what sort of instrument a Jamaica cart-whip really was. Mr. Knibb replied that a skilful driver, with 39 lashes need not leave an ounce of flesh on the back of a negro. (A voice from

the boxes—'That's a d——n lie,'—great uproar, with cries of 'Turn him out.') Mr. Thompson appealed for the truth of his statement to a friend behind him, Mr. Peter Clare of Manchester, who at once stated that he heard Mr. Knibb make the observation referred to by Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson then resumed, and observed that he advanced the statement he had made in the full knowledge that he was to be replied to on the following evening, and he must say that the gentleman in the boxes paid his champion a poor compliment in thus anticipating him. Another of the evils of slavery was the difficulty which the slave found in obtaining redress. It was notorious that more punishments were inflicted for what were termed, frivolous and vexatious complaints on the part of slaves, than for all other causes whatever. A slave who came to complain of ill-treatment generally went back with ten, twenty, or thirty lashes on his back for his presumption. Another evil was the inadmissibility of slave evidence. Another was the inveterate distinction of caste which was kept up in the colonies, and which placed the free man of color, as well as the negro, below the level of the whites. Another evil is the ignorance which is the universal concomitant of slavery. Another was the loss of self respect sustained by the slaves; for it was well observed by an old English writer, that the moment you make any one a slave you extinguish half the man within him. Another evil was the pride, self-complacence and despotism, which were engendered in the mind of the master. The politeness of a planter to his friend, was no proof of his humanity to his slaves; and he, (Mr. Thompson) contended, that not even a Wilberforce, or a Howard, was capable of being entrusted with unlimited and irresponsible control over five hundred of his fellow creatures. Another evil was the licentiousness, immorality, and sensuality which were the consequence of the master's control. Another was the danger of slavery. He would lay it down as an undeniable position, that no danger was so great, as the danger of wrong doing. No danger could possibly result from doing right, so great is the danger of doing wrong. There was the danger arising from insurrection, from conspiracy, the danger of being assassinated, and the danger of Heaven interfering in behalf of the oppressed. Why

did the slaves rebel? It was not for yams or clothing. It was not for the houses or wives of the planters. It was for liberty. The wonder was not there were so many insurrections, but that there were so few. Another evil was, persecution in all its forms. Let the demolished chapels, the proscribed missionaries, the tortured slaves, all attest this. Another was, the disregard of religion, for how can the upholder of slavery possibly regard that religion which teaches the doctrines of universal benevolence. Another was, the desecration of the sabbath. Another evil was, that the continuance of slavery tended to destroy all friendly intercourse between the colonies and Britain. Could any cordiality subsist between those who advocated slavery and those who urged its abolition? Could any compromise take place? Could the Anti-Slavery Society be put down? Who were the Anti-Slavery Society? They were ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population of the British Kingdoms. They were the religious, the humane, the enlightened, the benevolent all throughout the kingdom. Among the other evils, were the insecurity arising from slavery, its impolicy, and its expensiveness. The champion of the planters admitted that free labor would be cheaper than slave labor, and said that the masters only held the slaves from motives of humanity—(laughter)—that the masters would be gainers by the change, but as they did not want the young ones to perish, or the old ones to want a friend, therefore they kept up slavery. (Great laughter.) Slavery was unlawful, because the laws of the colonies were not consonant with the spirit of the British laws. Mr. Thompson then proceeded rapidly to expose the inconsistency of slavery with religion, and to denounce the cowardice of talking of the danger of abolition. He also exposed the meanness of the system which took advantage of the docile and submissive character of the African negro to enslave him. They dare not trample on the strong or the wise; they dare not go to New Zealand, or North America for slaves. The slaves, when they resisted the iron sway of their oppressors, were assailed by Sir Willoughby Cotton, and the *John Bull*, and the *Morning Post*, and Blackwood, and M'Queen, with every abusive epithet, and were called rebels, and ruffians, and 'infamous wretches.' How



did they speak of the Poles and the French, and the Greeks, and other brave nations which were struggling for freedom? How did they speak of Tell, and other heroes and patriots, who had achieved for themselves an imperishable name on the records of Fame? Were they rebels? Were they ruffians? Yet the same thirst for liberty animated both. And how were the insurrectionists of Jamaica answered? With the gibbet. When a slave was brought before a court martial in Jamaica, the only question was,—‘Was he taken in arms?’ If the reply was ‘Yes,’—‘then,’ said the president, ‘take him and give him *instant manumission!*’ and he was forthwith led off to the scaffold without the form or pretence of a trial. Mr. Thompson then alluded to a mean, lying, anonymous pamphlet, entitled ‘Hints for those who propose attending the meeting at Exeter Hall, on Wednesday, the 15th of August.’ The writer of that pamphlet tried to fix all the blame of the insurrection on the devoted and praiseworthy missionary. The only proof offered is the confession of certain condemned negroes, taken in their cells by the planters, and published by the planters; and upon this evidence the writer says—‘Nobody who reads these confessions can doubt that they were misled by mischievous sectarian preachers, especially the Baptists.’ As for charging it on the missionaries, they might as well charge it on the Archangel Gabriel, or on the Christian ministers who now surrounded him. There was no man so much entitled to their esteem as the West Indian missionary. What had he done? He had soothed the negro’s fears and elevated his hopes, and led him to the altar of our common father, and taught him to join in that heavenly anthem,—‘We praise thee O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.’ These were the men of whom the editor of a Jamaica paper said that he would rejoice to see them hanging in the woods of St. James’s and Trelawney, that they might diversify the scene; and of whom a member of the House of Commons had spoken in terms little less ferocious. We owed the possession of our colonies to the missionaries. Mr. Thompson then, after alluding to the selfishness of slavery, referred to the question of compensation, and said he should like to compute what was due to the negro, what to the planter, and to strike a balance between

The advocates of slavery, if not planters themselves, mostly had an interest in the property of planters, and many of them held mortgages over their slaves. They were dabblers in the system, and their eloquent invocations of feeling in behalf of the planter and his family were thus reduced to mere empty, heartless, hypocritical declamation. Mr. Thompson finally alluded to the impiety and guilt of slavery, but observed that time did not permit him to illustrate these. He concluded a long, eloquent and impassioned address, of nearly two hours and a half, in the following words:

‘Ladies and Gentlemen, I must now conclude. On another occasion, if I have the strength and opportunity, I shall say something more of the *impiety of slavery*, and the *guilt of slavery*. I think I have already said enough to give my friend on the other side an opportunity to reply. I have supplied him with a text, I have drawn out the skeleton of the discourse, I have been his pioneer, and it is for him to travel in the road which I have marked out. Much joy I wish him on his journey. If he can bring you to say that slavery is right, that slavery is politic, that slavery is necessary, nay, even that it is expedient, then I say that common sense, is not common sense, justice is not justice, piety is not piety, religion is not religion, mercy is not mercy, love is not love. I leave this task to him. I cordially, and from my heart of hearts, thank you for the patient attention with which you have heard me; and there being many here who do not perfectly agree with me, I the more thank *them* for the gentlemanly, patient, and forbearing manner in which they have listened to sentiments that do not accord with their own. I charge and entreat those who *do agree* with me, not to hiss or attempt to interrupt the advocate of the West India body, when he addresses them to-morrow night from this place, but to give him as patient and attentive a hearing as that which has been granted to me.’ (Much cheering and clapping of hands.)

Mr. Hodgson, the chairman, after expressing his hearty concurrence in Mr. Thompson's concluding observations, declared the meeting to be dissolved. The audience then slowly withdrew. A collection was made at the doors to defray the expenses of the evening.



MR. BORTHWICK'S LECTURE.

On Wednesday evening, at the same hour, the Amphitheatre was again crowded with a numerous assemblage to hear the reply of Mr. Borthwick, the agent of the West Indian body in this country.

Mr. ADAM HODGSON was again called to the chair, and after a neat and appropriate address, expressed a hope that the same order and decorum which had characterized the proceedings of the first night's discussion, would be exhibited on the present occasion.

Mr. BORTHWICK then stood forward and said, that the gentleman who lectured on the preceding evening was the agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, a body of men whose object was to obtain what they called immediate emancipation, but which, after all, they defined not to be immediate emancipation, but the substitution of what they called responsible and public authority, for private and irresponsible authority. It was his object to show that, in the first sense, immediate emancipation was not attainable in the present state of things; and as for the second sense, that did not seem to him to possess any determined or definite meaning. He had sufficient experience of Mr. Thompson as a lecturer to know that that gentlemen would not be satisfied if he merely attacked principles, and thus overthrew, or attempted to overthrow, the arguments founded upon them, unless he also went through every individual argument or illustration, and overthrew that also. This would be his (Mr. B.'s) object to do in the first instance, and, in the second place, to introduce a few arguments, totally unconnected with last night's lecture, in order to show the impracticability, the danger, the immorality, and the sin of any attempt immediately to emancipate, unconditionally, the slave of the West Indian colonies. Before doing so, he must congratulate himself, Mr. Thompson, and the cause, on the very different tone which Mr. Thompson had now assumed. Mr. Thompson did not now, as he did at Manchester, tell them that

Indian merchants were inhuman or wholesale butchers,—that those who came forward in defence of the West Indian body were fools uttering what they knew to be falsehoods,—and he congratulated Mr. Thompson on this desirable consumation. Mr. Thompson had enumerated no fewer than twenty-six evils as arising from the system of slavery—many of those twenty six-evils he had barely asserted without advancing any thing in the shape of proof, and, therefore, it was not without reason, he observed, that the gentleman who followed him would be obliged to have recourse to a sort of rail-road travelling, which, however new it might be in logic, would be absolutely necessary to follow Mr. Thompson in the course which he had adopted. He agreed with Mr. Thompson that it was a matter of perfect indifference to the question at issue, who were the parties to whom the guilt of first setting on foot the slave trade was attributed—but he was prepared to show that the planters were not the persons to whom the guilt was chargeable. The first evil, which, according to Mr. Thompson, was to be found on the threshold of slavery, was that it cursed with sterility the land where it existed; but did not the same sterility prevail wherever there was excessive cultivation of the land,—even where there were no slaves,—and if it did, how could sterility, arising from such a cause, be deemed one of the special and peculiar characteristics of slavery? (Applause.) He recommended the gentlemen to include this head in a lecture on the evils of excessive agriculture, not in one on the evils of slavery. (Laughter and applause.) The second evil was, that slavery gave rise to the slave trade,—that was a most extraordinary mode of putting the cart before the horse indeed. For twenty-five years no slave had been brought into the colonies, and how could it be said that slavery necessarily produced and fostered the slave trade? (Applause.) The third evil alleged was, that slavery doomed the infant to the same condition as its father,—that was, it made the child a slave because its father and mother were slaves too. But was there any thing peculiar to slavery in that? Did it not universally happen that the child was born to the condition of its father? (Much hissing and applause.) [The Chairman earnestly desired a patient and uninterrupted hearing for the speaker.] It

was true that children endowed by heaven with greater talents, frequently raised themselves to a height which their fathers never knew; he might mention an Eldon and a Brougham, and many others in illustration,—and he was prepared to prove that this might be the case, and had been the case even in a slave country. (Hear, hear.) In the colonies, the infant negro was born to the condition of a slave, just as the infant of a peasant, a king, or a lord, was born to the condition of a peasant, a king, or a lord, in other countries; but being born in any of those conditions, he was not necessarily confined to one. The gentleman had drawn a comparison between the present condition of the slaves he sought to emancipate, and the condition of the Jews under their Egyptian bondage, alleging that the same selfish motive which influenced Pharaoh induced the West Indian colonists to retain their slaves in bondage. There was no possible analogy between the cases. The Jews had gone into Egypt at the special invitation of the government, and resided there under its special protection: and did Pharaoh keep them there because he wanted more bricks? No; but because he was afraid that the Jews would become a mighty people, stronger than himself. Pharaoh resisted an express command of the Almighty to let them depart to worship God in the wilderness, and therefore he and his people perished in the Red Sea. Were the slaves in the West Indian colonies over-worked as the Jews were over-wrought by Pharaoh, or treated in the same unjust manner as the Jews? He should show, before he concluded, that they were not, and, therefore, he contended that there was no resemblance between them and the Jews. For twenty-five years, the religious, moral, and physical improvement of the negroes had been proceeding; and that by the exclusive agency of the planters themselves; he would undertake to show that the slaves were gradually approaching to the condition of freemen, and that, by and by, if the good cause were not impeded by some such cumbrous help as that tendered by the Anti-Slavery Society,—(laughter, disapprobation and applause,)—if it were not so impeded, the good work which every religious and humane man wished to see,—freedom for the slave, with security to the master,—would soon be accomplished. (Applause.)

What was the meaning of the passages of Scripture which had been quoted? What did St. Paul mean when he told those who had been newly converted to Christianity, to remember those who were in bondage as if they were bound with them? Simply that being one in hope and faith with those who were suffering all imaginary cruelties,—liable to be torn to pieces by wild beasts, they ought to feel and do for those fellow Christians, what they would expect to be done for themselves under the like circumstances. That was the simple and literal meaning of the passage, however it might suit Mr. Thompson to use it, *ad captandum*, on the other side of question. (Hear, hear.) But again, remember those that are in bonds as if you were bound with them: were the slaves, in any sense, in bonds? The people of England were told that the negroes were absolutely worked in chains, but that was only the case with convicts, and the same thing might be seen in England, with the difference; however, that the chains of the negro convict were not half so heavy as those worn by free Englishmen. (Applause.) The fourth evil of West Indian slavery was said to be that it oppressed the body with more labor than any other system without affording the ordinary motives to labor; he contended that even according to Mr. Thompson's showing, the slave had double motives to labor, for he also had a wife and child, and it was but natural that he should exert himself early and late to accumulate wealth, in order that he might purchase their freedom. The fourth evil, therefore, seemed almost to be a positive good. Were there no instances in which masters had given freedom to slaves in requital for their zealous and faithful services? Mr. Borthwick then related an anecdote told him by a gentleman who had resided twelve years in Jamaica,—to the effect that a negro came to him with the plan of an estate of forty or fifty acres, which the negro was about to purchase, in order that he might place his wife and child upon it, he himself determining, however, to remain a slave, because as he alleged, he was better provided for as a slave than he would be if he was free. (Loud laughter and applause.)

The fifth and sixth evils attributed to slavery all imaginary sufferings—poverty, nakedness, imprisonment, and he knew not what all; no proof had yet been attempted;

but if it were proved, he was prepared to show that the same, if not a greater degree of distress and imprisonment, existed in every county of free and happy England. (Applause.) But when he has proved this, would the proof be any argument for a sudden change in the whole frame work of English society, in the face of that maxim of the soundest political writers, that it was better to endure even an evil than to exchange it suddenly for good? (Hisses and applause.) The maxim was none of his; it was that of Paley, and of all the soundest political writers. What would be the consequences of immediate emancipation to the slaves themselves? Two thirds of them were individuals not able to work, either on account of sickness, infancy, or old age; their owners were now compelled by law to provide for them, and it would be a strange mode of improving their condition to turn them out with no such dependance. (Applause.) In England there were poor laws and workhouses, yet the poor often perished for want in the streets; but did any one ever hear of such an occurrence amongst the slaves in the West Indies? (Cries of 'Never, never,' and much applause.) The seventh evil was, that human beings might be mortgaged to money-lenders, meaning, he supposed, that separation of families of which they were told so much. He admitted that it was an evil, the only one out of the seven that had been enumerated, that families might be seized by law, separated, and sold to pay the debts of their master. (Hear, hear.) This did occasion great pain in the negro families, but he had shown that in the other six instances the negro had the advantage over the peasant in this country, and that was sufficient to counterbalance the evils in their comparative conditions. (Much disapprobation and applause.) The peasant incurred many more chances of imprisonment, than the negro of changing masters without his own choice, a circumstance which hardly ever happened, though he admitted it was possible. (A person in the pit here exclaimed, with great unction and emphasis, '*Beelzebub*.') The eighth evil was the alleged decrease of the slave population. Now, what were the facts? Be it remembered that the colonies were peopled from Africa, by avaricious men, according to Mr. Thompson, and the more avaricious they were, the worse for Mr. Thompson's

argument ; for they would naturally buy males rather than females, and the natural consequence of the inequality of the sexes thus produced, must be a sudden decrease of the population, until the sexes become equal, society would not become progressive, as it was in all the world beside. It was also said that the free population increased at the same time ; and how could it be otherwise, when constant manumissions were taking place, and the negroes taken from the slaves were added to those who were free, and counted twice over by the Anti-Slavery Society, for the sake of producing an effect ? From the *Jamaica Almanac* it appeared that the decrease amongst the slaves was just $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum ; he thought he had sufficiently accounted for it ; he maintained that the slaves were not under-fed, or over-worked, and he appealed to any medical gentleman who had resided in the West Indies, to say whether they were or not. (Cries of ' They cannot say so,' ' They cannot do it. ') The ninth evil was an alleged inequality of law and right ; by the Consolidated Slave Act, passed in March 1831, and allowed by the the British government, the master was subject to a fine of twenty pounds for not complying with its conditions ; and if that act was not passed for the protection of the slave against the master, he left Mr. Thompson to solve the purpose for which it was intended. Mr. Borthwick, after reading from Mr. Hibbard's pamphlet a description of the negroes' huts, remarked that he (Mr. Borthwick) had called the middle apartment a saloon, and that Mr. Thompson had laughed at him for it. By a saloon, he meant the large airy apartment for the purpose of lounging in,—call it by what name they would,—and he would leave it to Mr. Knibb himself to say, whether that was not an accurate definition of the apartment which was always found in the middle of a slave hut. Mr. Hibbard had understated the comforts of the negro hut :—if he (Mr. B.) were disposed to draw a picture for Mr. Thompson's entertainment, he could speak of mahogany tables and sideboards, fruits and wines, and treats prepared for the Baptist leaders, who were so active in the late rebellion. (Here there was a tremendous burst of disapprobation, followed by applause and clapping of hands, which continued for some time.)

The CHAIRMAN earnestly exhorted the meeting to list-

on to Mr. Borthwick with the same patience and attention that Mr. Thompson had met with the preceding night, and reminded them that the statements made by the speaker would be answered at the proper time.

Mr. BORTHWICK, in continuation, said that he was not there to advance gratuitous accusations against any individuals, or any sect whatever: he had been repeatedly challenged to say and read all he knew on the subject, and at the proper stage of the proceedings he would do so. (Applause.) He hoped that Mr. Thompson when next he spoke upon the subject, would give them his description of the negro hut—that he would abandon empty declamation, and come to facts,—that he would no longer gallop round and round the lists and strike the shield with a blunted spear,—but enter at once into close combat,—leaving declamation for real argument and description. (Applause.) He had once honorably challenged Mr. Thompson to appear before an audience half-hour and half-hour in time, to discuss this question fairly, and have the point settled by the judgment of the audience,—the expense to be defrayed by the West Indian body,—and that challenge be it remembered, Mr. Thompson declined.

Mr. THOMPSON,—from the boxes. ‘No, no!’—The interruption was followed by cries of ‘Shame, shame,’—‘Chair, chair,’—and a storm of mingled hissing and applause.

The CHAIRMAN again earnestly requested that Mr. Borthwick might have a patient hearing without interruption from Mr. Thompson or any other gentleman.

Mr. BORTHWICK, in continuation, Mr. Thompson said that he did not decline the challenge; he (Mr. B.) had been told by what he thought official authority, that he did decline it.—(‘Oh, oh!’ hisses and confusion.) If Mr. Thompson did not decline the challenge, then the arrangement might still be made, and the argument might still be heard at Manchester. (‘Hear,’ from Mr. Thompson.) He (Mr. B.) had been accused of wishing to excite clamor and uproar wherever he went; he denied it, and challenged contradiction. He wished to conduct this discussion in a calm and Christian spirit; no man could say that he ever evinced any other, and yet Mr. Thompson himself was the first to interrupt him. (‘Beelzebub!’)

He only hoped that Mr. Thompson would not forget his present challenge, and would not attempt to slip out of it, as he had once already done, by saying that the last impression on his mind was that something else was meant. The tenth evil of slavery, according to Mr. Thompson, was, that there was no equal administration of justice in the colonies. Mr. Thompson had advanced no proof of this; when he did it should be answered. In the meantime it was mere assertion, and he would meet it with the assertion, that the laws of England were not administered in all cases according to their spirit. How many cases were there in which there could be no doubt of the prisoner's guilt on the minds of those who heard the evidence, and yet there was not sufficient legal evidence to convict him? The assertion that this was an evil peculiar to slavery, therefore, went for nothing—('Interested persons ought not to be on the jury.') 'I thank the Jew for teaching me that word.' (Laughter and applause.) It was almost impossible that in many instances the Jury should not be prejudiced by their position; and that which occurred in the colonies might occur in England also. The tenth evil might well have been included in the ninth; this also was a mere assertion, and it was hard to prove a negative. Mr. Thompson had produced twenty-six heads, merely announcing some of them: and the next time he proposed a text, he hoped that Mr. Thompson would give him something more than the naked skeleton of an argument, and then require it to be disproved. The twelfth evil was an alleged distinction in caste or color; he was at a loss to know the meaning of this since colored men were now admitted as members of the House of Assembly, and were received in society on the same terms as the whites. The thirteenth evil quoted by Mr. Thompson was ignorance. He called on Mr. Thompson to show how that was the consequence of slavery. Were not the planters doing all in their power to instruct the negroes? He would now prove, from the mouths of the missionaries themselves, that so far from suffering persecution, every aid was afforded them for the instruction of the negroes. Mr. Borthwick then read from the appendix to 'Barclay's View of the State of Slavery in the West Indies,' a series of resolutions adopted at a meeting of Wesleyan Methodist mission-



aries held at Kingston on the 6th September, 1824. These resolutions were drawn up and adopted in consequence of certain misrepresentations having been circulated, respecting their conduct and motives. After recapitulating these alleged misrepresentations, the missionaries proceed to declare their belief that Christianity does not interfere with the civil condition of the slaves, as regulated by the laws of the British West Indies; that the doctrines taught by them did not tend to excite rebellion among the slaves; and that the members of the Methodist church, so far from being guilty of rebellion, had defended the planters in the time of danger. [Mr. Borthwick here observed that every person in Jamaica acquits the Wesleyans and Moravians of using any direct or indirect influence in exciting the late rebellion.] The resolutions went on to state that if the designs of the emancipationists were carried into immediate effect, they would prove injurious and ruinous to the colonies as well as the slaves themselves, and occasion the effusion of human blood; that they had no connection with the African institution, nor could they, by their rules, correspond with any institution on questions relating to Colonial Slavery; that their labors had tended to produce quietness in the island, wherever their ministry had been permitted; that if the views of the abolitionists were carried into effect, they believed, their own lives and the property under their care would be in danger; that they had received or extorted no money from the slaves, but that their salaries were provided out of the allowance granted by their society, and the sums contributed by the proprietors of the slaves, and from other sources; and, finally, that they acknowledge their thanks to be due to the magistrates and gentlemen of the island, for their good will towards the spread of morality among the lower classes. These resolutions were signed by John Stevenson, Secretary of the meeting, and by George Mosley, Richard Watson, and John Mason. Mr. Borthwick contended that these resolutions clearly proved that the missionaries received no obstruction from the planters in the education and instruction of the slave population; but that, on the contrary, they provided them with money, lodging, and opportunities of addressing the slaves in every possible way. The fourteenth ~~evil~~ adduced by Mr. Thompson was

the loss of self-respect sustained by the slave. In many instances where the cat-o-nine-tails was employed for the punishment of the negroes, they spoke with the utmost contempt of the buckra or English soldiers and sailors, as if they felt it a degradation to be put on the same level with them. (Laughter and hisses.) He appealed to the West Indian gentlemen present if this was not true; and, if true, it was a complete answer to Mr. Thompson's argument. The fifteenth evil was the pride and arrogance of the masters. How should it produce pride and arrogance in a master to know that he possessed slaves for whom he was bound to provide, and to regard as his own children? Every medical man who had been in the West Indies knew that medicines and wines, from the simplest to the most expensive, were at the service of the negroes when required. How should this engender pride, &c.? The sixteenth evil stated by Mr. Thompson was called by him 'promiscuous intercourse,' which he (Mr. Borthwick) supposed was intended to refer to the illicit connexion of the sexes. He would leave Mr. Thompson to prove something on the subject. As yet, he had merely stated the evil. With respect to the morality of the negroes, however, he would read an extract from the *Morning Journal* of the 5th November, 1828. Mr. Borthwick then read an article furnished by an anonymous correspondent of that notorious print, in which twenty-four ladies of Clapham, who had formed themselves into an Anti-Slavery Society, were held up to ridicule, and which then went on to detail the amours of an old negro of fifty years of age, who, after being torn from his wife and children on the coast of Guinea, joined himself to a negro woman in the West Indies, by whom he had two children, and on being separated from her engaged with a third wife. Here was a Turk for them! bigamy and trigamy with a vengeance! From this anecdote, which excited great merriment among one portion of the meeting, and called forth expressions of disgust from the rest, Mr. Borthwick drew the inference that immorality *did* exist among the slaves; but how it was a concomitant of slavery did not appear.

The eighteenth evil, which was that of persecution, related to the late insurrection in Jamaica, and to that he would have occasion to refer by and by. The twenti-

eth was the desecration of the Sabbath. To this Mr. Borthwick replied, that in the West Indies the Sabbath was given to the slave. The law prevented any mill being turned from Saturday night till Monday morning. Here, therefore, a provision was made in behalf of the slave, which did not exist for the benefit of free labor. The twenty-first evil was the existence of enmity between England and the colonies. It was paying England a poor compliment to say that it was at enmity with the colonies. Mr. Thompson should have first proved that slavery was contrary to English feeling and humanity; he had not done so, and he (Mr. Borthwick) therefore put the argument aside as a mere begging of the question. The twenty-second evil was called 'In security no validity.' No explanation of this evil had been given, and in itself it was not intelligible. The twenty-third was the impolicy, and the twenty-fourth the expensiveness of slavery. Evils now came so thick upon Mr. Thompson that it was impossible for him to do more than name them, and they therefore did not call for any reply.

Having disposed of Mr. Thompson's argument *seriatim*, he would now give them as a whole a more substantial and satisfactory reply, by showing what was the real state of the question, and by striking at its root. The question was one which affected not only our commercial interests, but our character as a nation. He would divide the subject into two parts; the first religious, the second political. He put the religious part of the question first, because, it could be shown that immediate abolition was required by religious duty, then all political considerations must be set aside, and he was prepared to give up the whole question at once. The question was not whether slavery in the abstract was bad, but whether we are bound by our standing, as a nation, to emancipate the slaves in the West Indies immediately. The proposition which he meant to assert, was, that it was not only consistent with religion that we should continue to hold the slaves for a considerable period longer, but that it would be contrary to humanity and religion, and to the example of Almighty God himself (great disapprobation) to emancipate them sooner. The first point he had to prove was, that slavery in the abstract was not sinful. For proof of this he would

quote a passage from the Old Testament, which he must distinctly state he applied not to the Christian system, but to the Jewish dispensation. Mr. Borthwick then read a passage of some length from the 25 chapter of Leviticus, commencing with the 39th verse ; but as our readers possess the means of reference to the passage itself, it is unnecessary here to transcribe it. Here, said Mr. Borthwick, we had a law which governed the slavery of the Jews. The Israelities who fell into slavery, were to be restored every fiftieth year, but others from amongst the heathen were to be their slaves for ever. If slavery in the abstract was sinful, then Almighty God could never have given it his express sanction and command. God had winked at times at ignorance, (he used language of the New Testament) but never could an instance be brought in which God had given a command to commit express sin. If so, then had he proved that slavery in the abstract was not sinful.

The next question was whether the West India colonies were in such a state as to authorise us, as Christians, for some time to come to continue slavery. He declared himself, as a Christian and a Briton, a friend to abolition. He, as well as every West Indian of whom he knew any thing, were desirous of the coming of the time when it would be a mercy to the slaves and to their masters that the former should be free. Justice must rise up from the earth, ere it could meet the mercy that came down from heaven. This was the true spirit of Christianity, and he would now show that it afforded an argument in favor of his position. It was admitted on all hands, that Christianity points to a better state of things than the slavery which existed in the West Indies, or the starvation which prevailed in England. How long did God think it fit that men should continue in a state of preparation before the Christian system was fully revealed to them? 4,000 years; and this at a time when ignorant fallible men were not their instructors, but God himself, and the prophets whom he inspired. Did this afford an argument for immediate abolition? But that was not under the New Testament system. To that he would now come. In what state was the earth at the time of Christ's coming with respect to slavery? Was West Indian slavery to be compared with the predial slavery



which existed in Greece and Rome? No, certainly. All who were acquainted with the history of that period knew that it was much worse than the system of the West Indian slavery. Mr. B. here referred to a pamphlet, entitled 'British Colonial Slavery compared with that of Antiquity,' published by Ridgway, in 1830. What were the precepts which Christ and his apostles gave to the slaves and their masters? although Mr. Thompson had attempted to prove, that the Greek word translated servant did not mean slave. They enjoined the slave to be obedient to their masters, and masters to be kind to their slaves, because they also had a master in heaven. Did this warrant the language which had been used towards the slave proprietors of the present day, who had been represented as necessarily devoid of the feelings of humanity, as butchers, and greedy, and bad-hearted men? But it was said that the agents of the Anti-Slavery Society, although they told the slave that the master had no right to hold him in subjection, nevertheless advised the latter to be quiet. Was this following the example of Christ, who directed slaves to be obedient to those whom it was their duty and their happiness to serve as masters? He would ask Mr. Thompson to show him a single passage, or the shadow of a passage's ghost, (a laugh) in the whole Bible which would favor the sudden change his party pleaded for. Such they could not adduce, and therefore the only argument which they brought forward was drawn from the general principle, 'What ye would that men should do unto you, do ye so to them.' This was the only argument that was used, and the lecturer applied it by saying, 'Would you wish to be a slave? If not, then emancipate the slaves.' Now there was a wide discrepancy between the cases. Would you, with your present liberty, your intelligence, your connections, and your possessions wish to be a slave? No. But if he were to say to the slave, would you wish to be the king of England, or a lecturer of the Anti-Slavery Society, or any other thing for which he was utterly unqualified, why then the slave would say no, I would rather be as I am. (Disapprobation.) Each was fitted for his own station. He believed that the individuals now present would cut as poor a figure in attempting to discharge the duties of the slaves as they would do in attempting to discharge

ours. (A laugh.) If, (said Mr. Borthwick, addressing the meeting,) you were slaves, would you wish to be free to-morrow? (Cries of 'Yes, yes,' and a great uproar.) Before any one could take it upon him to answer that question he must first know the condition of the slave. It was this. He is provided for in sickness and in old age. If you make him free you deprive him of these advantages. Instances could be quoted in which slaves being made free, had requested to be taken back into a state of slavery. (Disapprobation.) Who hisses? exclaimed Mr. Borthwick, I am only stating a fact. (Name, name.) He would name Mr. Senior, who was for many years an overseer in Trinidad, and was now a resident of Liverpool. He could prove that six negroes being made free, entreated that they might be taken back as they had no one to provide for them; and one of them pathetically said, 'If we die, who will make our coffin.' If it were once proved that the slaves wished to be free, then it would be right to emancipate them. But it had not yet been proved to be for the benefit of the slaves themselves. How did Christianity abolish slavery in England and elsewhere? By the gradual, meek, and gentle progress which had marked its course all over the world. Christianity does not take the heart by storm. She is beautiful and God-like in her march. What better evidence could they have of the divinity of Christianity than the change which had taken place in England from the time of her first introduction. He would point to the good effects which Christianity had produced in the West Indies during the last twenty-five years, since the abolition of that foul traffic which the planters had been the first to decry—the slave trade. A great change had taken place in the condition of the slaves, and to what was it to be attributed? To Christianity, under the fostering, nursing, able, and willing protection of the slave masters. Due discrimination was no doubt necessary as to the persons who were to teach the slaves.—Would it not be absurd in a person to attempt to lecture on Homer who knew nothing about Greek? It was necessary, therefore, for the planters to see that the persons who came to teach Christianity should know something of its nature and history, and should, in fact, be learned theological scholars. The only men who were refused



permission to teach the slaves and read the confessions of Linton and other convicted leaders in the rebellion, to show that the negroes had been misled by the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society, and particularly by the Baptist Missionaries, into the belief that the Lord and the King had given their freedom, but that it was kept from them by the white gentlemen in Jamaica. The Baptist preachers had taught the slaves that they could not serve two masters. You see from this, (said Mr. Borthwick) that the insurrection had its foundation in religion : (great disapprobation) he meant in a perversion of religion. The rebellious slaves indulged not only in cruelties to their masters ; but the most horrid cruelties were perpetrated on English women, young, fair and good, as the youngest, the fairest and the best now before him. These cruelties were practised, hear the word, (exclaimed Mr. Borthwick,) and hiss not ! (much laughter) by leaders in the Baptist churches. (Hear, and cries of 'No, no,' followed by prodigious uproar.) When order was restored, Mr. Borthwick proceeded to read the examinations of the gentlemen on the island, and to refer more minutely to the confessions of the slaves in support of his accusation against the Baptists. It was alleged that the ringleaders among the revolted negroes took the same rank in the rebel army as they held in the Baptist church. Mr Borthwick denounced the missionaries as ignorant or interested men. (Renewed uproar.) The scenes of the rebellion proved, either that the Baptist Missionaries were incompetent to explain the scriptures, or that the negro was incapable of understanding them, when the simple declaration of our Lord respecting the serving of two masters had been so grossly perverted. In the latter supposition the negro was clearly unfit for freedom. Mr. Borthwick then alluded to the motives of the missionaries in going to Jamaica, and denied that they were entitled to the praise of disinterestedness. He also quoted the confession of one of the converted rebels, that if they had all the money they had given to Mr. Burchell, they would have had something handsome. It was unfair in Mr. Thompson to say that the planters opposed all instruction, because they objected to the Baptists. They did not object to the Wesleyans or the Moravians, or to the missionaries from the Established

Churches of England and Scotland. The Rev. George Blyth, a Scotch missionary, who was now in Edinburgh, had published a letter in the *Liverpool Mercury*, in which he stated that he found no obstruction in teaching the negroes, and that the proprietor of a mill had caused it to stop for half an hour, while he addressed the slaves. He (Mr. Borthwick) put the question to any man who had been in the West Indies, whether, if he asked a slave, do you want your freedom, he would not receive an answer—'No, Massa, me no want any more.' Free labor was cheaper than slave labor, and it was therefore the interest of the master to promote emancipation; but as there was no poor laws, it was inconsistent with the views he (Mr. T.) had given of humanity and religion to grant immediate emancipation. From the state of starvation, described by Mr. Thompson, they would fall into complete destitution, and from a state of comparative ignorance they would relapse into total barbarism. In St. Domingo, when it was a slave colony, the export of sugar had been very considerable, but since free labor was introduced they were actually obliged to import sugar for their own consumption. The free slave of St. Domingo was decidedly inferior in mental attainments to the negro in a state of slavery. This proved, he trusted, that instead of conferring a moral or religious boon on the slave by giving him emancipation, they were conferring a moral infliction that drove him back to the state of barbarism in which he existed in his native land. After some further observations, Mr. Borthwick said, that now the question was fairly before them, they would perceive it was not a question between immediate emancipation and perpetual bondage, as the planters wished for the emancipation of the slave as soon as it could be granted with safety. He had not time to enter on the question of emancipation. But he might ask who would compensate the negro? Would the Anti-Slavery Society do so? When he said that the planters were the best friends of the slave, he referred in proof of the fact to the abolition of the slave trade, to the slave acts of Jamaica and other islands, and to the contributions of money for the instruction of the slave. The chief anti-slavery advocates who had been possessed of slaves did not emancipate them, but sold them, and pocketed the hard

cash. (Loud applause.) Tell me not, continued Mr. Borthwick, of the Jamaica cart-whips. They are nothing at all! Mr. Thompson had said that one of them laid open the flank of a mule. He would give Mr. Thompson a challenge. He would give him liberty to lay open the calf of his (Mr. Borthwick's) leg with a Jamaica cart-whip, on condition that if he failed he should pay out of the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, to the public charities of the town, the sum of £200. (Tremendous cheering and laughter.) Mr. Borthwick concluded by thanking the meeting for the attention with which they had heard him, and by soliciting the same attention for his opponent on the following evening.

Mr. Borthwick's address lasted three hours and twenty-five minutes.

MR. THOMPSON'S REPLY.

MR. THOMPSON made his reply to Mr. Borthwick on Thursday night, at the Amphitheatre, to a most numerous and respectable audience.

SAMUEL HOPE, Esq. was called to the chair.

MR. THOMPSON commenced by observing that never had a speech been delivered so completely vulnerable in all its parts—a speech more disgraceful to the heart as well as to the head of the man who spoke it, than that delivered by Mr. Borthwick, the agent of the West India body, on the preceding evening. He meant nothing personal to Mr. Borthwick in this observation; he merely alluded to the speech, and that was his property—Mr. Borthwick had given it to him, and he had a right to tear it limb from limb. (Applause and hisses.) Mr. Borthwick complained heavily of being charged with having uttered what he knew to be a falsehood, and the meeting should see how the charge was made out. Mr. Borthwick asserted, in Manchester, that the happiest of the happy, amongst the free negroes in Sierra, Leone, was more miserable than the most miserable slave that breathed in the West Indies; and was not such an assertion as that a most gross and evident falsehood on the very face of it? ('Yes, yes,'—'No, no!'—Cheers and disapprobation.) He would again and again aver that the statement was a falsehood—since it was contrary to history, contrary to observation, contrary to human nature, reason, and common sense. [Applause.] In speaking of the frightful decrease in the slave population, he had referred to Parliamentary documents to prove the truth of what he advanced, and then Mr. Borthwick turned round upon him and questioned the truth of those documents, though Mr. Borthwick well knew that they were founded on returns furnished by his friends, the planters, on OATH. What was that but charging the planters with perjury? ['No, no,'—'Yes, yes.'] Those documents proved a decrease amongst the slaves of 52,000 in

ten years and a half; but Mr. Borthwick asked if manumissions were not constantly going on, which might account, in some degree, for that decrease. [Hear, hear.] But did not Mr. Borthwick know that the manumissions were duly noted in the returns of the planters, that deductions were made on that account, and that after such deductions had been made, the nett decrease was 52,000 in ten years and a half? [Cheers and disapprobation.] At Manchester Mr. Borthwick had told him that he came to the meeting merely by accident, anxious to be convinced, though at that very moment, he [Mr. T.] had a letter in his pocket warning him of Mr. Borthwick's approach; and though Mr. Borthwick afterward told him that he was paid to follow him from place to place, like his evil genius, Mr. Borthwick's very words. [Cheers, hisses, and cries of 'Question!'] That was the question;—it tended to show the spirit of candor and fairness exhibited by Mr. Borthwick. He also begged to make another remark;—last evening he [Mr. Thompson] had called out 'No,' because when a statement was made against an alleged matter of fact, affecting the character and veracity of an individual, before 3,000 persons, many of whom might not have an opportunity of hearing the contradiction, it behoved that individual at once to contradict it. He had not declined the challenge of Mr. Borthwick; he was rather anxious to accept it—but he had a more important work on hand than following the motions of Mr. Borthwick.

'The letter I alluded to I produced at that meeting, and read an extract containing the announcement of Mr. Borthwick's approach, and the object of his mission; and I believe that Mr. Borthwick himself, so far from contradicting me, will bear me out in the declaration that I do not allude to a letter which has no existence. It was under these circumstances that I spoke, and, if I was warm on the subject, was it not sufficient to warm me to be told, when in the prosecution of a good work, that I should be followed about from place to place as by an "evil genius?"—a prophecy which has been in part fulfilled, after having been informed by Mr. Borthwick that he came by accident, merely to be convinced. Was it strange that I should be warm after hearing such contradictory assertions, and being the subject of such a threat?

Before passing from these rather irrelevant observations, allow me to make one further remark on the proceedings of last night, with reference to my own conduct on that occasion. I called out "No," because there was a statement regarding a matter of fact, personally affecting my own character and veracity, made before 3,000 persons, many hundreds of whom, perhaps, would not have an opportunity the following evening of hearing a true statement of the case, on whose minds, therefore, an impression to my prejudice would have been produced, if the assertion had been passed by without contradiction. It was said by Mr. Borthwick, that he gave me a challenge in Manchester, and that I declined it: I never did decline that challenge; I was rather anxious to accept it; but knowing the object Mr. Borthwick had in view, viz. to circumvent my design—to prevent my fulfilling my pledge to go here and there, rousing the public attention to this question, [and I have gone here and there, at the sacrifice of health, and almost life,] was I to remain at Manchester, and at a particular time accept the challenge of Mr. Borthwick, leaving the object of my mission in part unaccomplished? I am at any time ready to defend the positions I occupy, and I will defend them until they are successfully destroyed; but I am not bound to accept a particular challenge from Mr. Borthwick. I may say with Nehemiah, "The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another. In what place, therefore, ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our God shall fight for us." I cannot be delayed by matters of minor importance, when I have proved to ninety-nine out of every hundred of my hearers, that colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God: and, therefore, that the negro ought to go free, and the bonds to fall from the limbs of the oppressed.' [Applause and disapprobation.]

He now came to Mr. B's reply;—that gentleman had gone over his list of evils, and said there was nothing in them; but he defied Mr. Borthwick, with the West Indian body at his back, to drive him from one of those positions. Mr. Thompson then recapitulated the evils which he had attributed to the system of colonial slavery the preceding evening, and contended that not one of them had been touched by his opponent. He had said that general licen-



tiousness was one of the evils of slavery; let him have an audience of males only, and he would tear the veil even from the eyes of West Indian proprietors; he would prove it even from the evidence furnished by planters themselves, or he would consent to be branded as a quack, and to let Mr. Borthwick triumph over him. [Applause and disapprobation.] Did not Mr. Borthwick know that in almost every house in Jamaica all the men from the book-keeper up to the master himself, had a concubine? Did he not know that the marriage of a white man with a female possessing the slightest tinge of negro blood, entailed upon him almost entire expulsion from civilized society? Mr. Borthwick, it seemed, did not know what was meant by the instability of slavery, but was he not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the world to know, that no state of society founded upon slavery could be otherwise than insecure. Mr. Borthwick had not said a word about the cowardice of negro slavery—the meanness of taking advantage of the docility of the negroes to enslave them, when no such advantage had been taken of more bold and rugged races, the savages of New Zealand, or North America. Mr. Thompson then denounced the selfish spirit of slavery, and quoted a passage from Mr. [now Lord] Brougham's speech to the electors of Yorkshire, in which Mr. Brougham eloquently condemned the spirit of monopoly which would keep the blessing of freedom to itself, and declared that if he were sent to Parliament, he never would rest from his labors till he had uprooted the tree, under whose deadly shade life died—death lived—and brandished it over the heads of its supporters in triumph. [Cheers.] Mr. Borthwick had said nothing of the guilt of slavery. Mr. Borthwick denied that slavery necessarily entailed the curse of sterility on the soil where it existed, and he [Mr. Thompson] would now quote the authority of a greater man than either himself or Mr. Borthwick to show that it did. Mr. Thompson then quoted a passage from the works of J. Jeremy, Esq., late Chief Justice of St. Lucia, showing that the constant succession of crops and excessive cultivation, rendered necessary by the system of slave labor, had, in many instances, within his own knowledge, rendered the most fertile and fruitful lands a desert. Mr. Borthwick denied that the slave trade was a necessary consequence of

slavery, but if there were no slavery in the West Indies, in the Spanish colonies, or Brazil, would the slave trade be any longer carried on? [Applause.] He then read official accounts of the atrocities perpetrated in Spanish slavers, captured by his majesty's cruisers, off the western coast of Africa, and contended that the only sure and effectual mode of extinguishing this horrid traffic was to abolish slavery. He had spoken of the infant being doomed to interminable slavery, even from its mother's womb—and how heartless and inhuman was Mr. Borthwick's reply. Because, forsooth, children were generally born to the condition of their parents, therefore it was no evil that infant negroes were born to bondage. Mr. Thompson then read several extracts from the writings of the Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, the Rev. Mr. Drew, and others, showing the scenes of misery and distress which they had witnessed from the separation of families, and then quoted the 5th clause of the consolidated slave code of Jamaica, of February, 1831, to show that though it was provided therein that when whole families were seized by the Marshal they should not be sold separately, there was nothing to prevent individuals from being seized for their master's debts, and sold—husbands from their wives—mothers from their children—sisters from their brethren. Then with regard to the slaves being compelled to endure excessive labor, without any of the ordinary motives to labor—how heartless—how cruel—how inhuman was it in the advocates of *gradual* emancipation, to say the slave had double motives, first to labor for his master, and then for his freedom. From Parliamentary documents quoted by Mr. Stephen, in his admirable work on the state of the colonies, it appeared that throughout the year the slave had to labor, upon an average, 16 hours and 40 minutes per day, for his master, and yet he was to be told after this that the slave had double motives to labor. Mr. Borthwick denied that there was any suffering amongst the slaves, and said that brands, and whips, and collars, and chains were all chimeras. If they were so, what was the meaning of a statement in the Jamaica paper he held in his hand, that there were one hundred negroes walking the streets with from one to eight brand-marks upon their bodies? Did he know how runaway negroes were described? By the lashes, the flogging marks, every thing that could torment the



human body and deform it, upon them? Mr. Thompson then quoted from the *Christian Record*, a Jamaica periodical, for October, 1830, a statement of the case of five negroes, who had been sent out by their mistress to steal grass from the neighboring estates, taken to the protector, and severely flogged, though it appeared that all they did was by command of their owner, under fear of punishment if they disobeyed. He then again quoted from Mr. Jeremy's work, passages showing the difficulty Mr. Jeremy experienced in abolishing the use of the whip, chains, and collars, at St. Lucia, and the ingenuity shown by the planters in devising other instruments of punishment. Mr. Jeremy's work had been published for twelve months,—it had been reviewed by the *Edinburgh*, and other liberal journals; and *Blackwood*, *Frazer*, *M'Queen*, and the *Morning Post* were silent upon the subject. Was not that a convincing proof of the truth of its statements? (Loud cheers.) He would mention another instance quoted by Mr. Jeremy. A civil action was brought in the court over which Mr. Jeremy's predecessor in office presided as chief justice, in which the steward or bailiff of a planter, sought to recover a sum of money alleged to be due to him; the master pleaded a set off,—and what was that? Why, that the bailiff had flogged two slaves to death; that their value was 700 dollars, and that the demand ought to be reduced by that amount. (Hear, hear.) It was so reduced, and the price of murder was allowed. Mr. T. mentioned several similar instances of cruelty in Trinidad, Martinique, and other West Indian colonies, and asked what chance the slave had for justice, under a system rotten to its core,—with slave-owners for legislators,—slave-owners for magistrates,—and slave evidence inadmissible. ('None, none!' Cheers and disapprobation.) He now came to another part of the subject, being the most important part of Mr. Borthwick's speech,—he referred to the recent insurrection in the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear, hear—applause and disapprobation.) Why was he hissed? Was it merely because he referred to that insurrection? First, with regard to insurrections generally, how were they spoken of? When they took place in the West Indies, they were called rebellions, and the actors were stigmatized as rebels—traitors—wretches—vagabonds—demons.

How were the Poles or the Greeks spoken of when they rose against their oppressors? (Hear, hear.) If they had heard of an insurrection of their own countrymen who were once slaves at Algiers,—to escape from the tyranny of the Dey, would they have called it a rebellion—would they have designated their countrymen as wretches and vagabonds? (Cheers.) How did they speak of the champions of liberty in other countries,—a Tell in Switzerland,—a Byron in Greece—a Bolivar in Columbia—a Brutus at Rome—a La Fayette in Paris! As heroes. How of the negro leaders of the rebellion in Jamaica—a people more insulted—a people a thousand times more deeply wronged than even the people of Switzerland, Greece, Columbia, Rome or France had ever been? As wretches and vagabonds. (Applause and disapprobation.) Mr. Borthwick had last night showed a disposition to curry favor with the Wesleyans and Moravians at the expense of the Baptists. (Hisses and cheers.) He (Mr. Thompson) liked to call things by their proper names,—and therefore he repeated that Mr. Borthwick showed a disposition to curry favor with the Methodists. The planters loved the Methodists,—he said;—did they so? Then why did the planters pull down their chapels at Barbadoes? (Immense cheering.) They loved the Methodists,—then why did they imprison Mr. Shrewsbury,—why did they persecute Mr. Whitehouse,—why did they imprison Mr. Box,—why did they pull down the Methodist chapels at Kingston? (Applause.) Mr. Thompson then drew a beautiful picture of the disinterestedness of the Christian missionaries, and their readiness to go to any quarter of the world; whether on the pestilential banks of the Gambia, or the frigid regions of the Pole. The planters, it seemed, loved all missionaries except the Baptists; why then did they martyr Smith at Demerara? Where was Duncan—where was Young? (Applause.) Mr. Thompson then alluded to the resolutions quoted on the preceding evening by Mr. Borthwick, and showed that the names of George Morley, Richard Watson, and John Mason, which Mr. Borthwick read as signatures to the resolutions, were in reality, the names of the three resident secretaries in London, to whom the resolutions were addressed by the secretary Shipman. Mr. Watson had written an eloquent reply to those reso-

lutions, strongly condemning the sentiments they contained. Mr. Thompson then read a report on the subject of these resolutions, adopted by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in which they disclaim the sentiments uttered in their name, and express their utter detestation of the slave system. The great body of the Wesleyans concurred in the same opinion. (Hear, hear.) What did the *Jamaica Courant*, the organ of the planters, say of the missionaries?—why, that there was fine hanging woods in Trelawney, and that the bodies of the missionaries would diversify the scene, and this he spoke of all the sectarians—all the sectarians, mind, without exception in favor of any sect, and the editor of that ferocious paper, as Mr. Borthwick well knew was a member of the house of Assembly. He would now read a letter from another senator, a son-in-law of a peer, a member of the House of Commons in this country, and a large slave proprietor, to show how fit he was for the office of a British legislator. In the month of February, 1832,—a short time after the news came of the insurrection in Jamaica,—Mr. Thomas Pringle, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, who had been accustomed to send him the Anti-Slavery Reporter, received the following letter. Mr. Thompson then read the letter which was nearly to the following effect:—

Sir,—I have often had packets from the Anti-Slavery Society, forwarded *over-weight* to me in the country. I have a great aversion to all canting hypocrisy, but it is doubly detestable when it is made a cloak for mischievous purposes. I therefore beg you not to send me any more papers. I shall only add my most earnest hope, that the Commander-in-Chief in Jamaica will hang every missionary in the island; and if the same course were adopted here with the gentlemen who present their petitions on the subject, a considerable benefit would arise to the community at large, and most particularly to the House of Commons. I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant.

SPENCER HORSEY KILDERBEE.

If they wanted to know more about this gentleman, he was a member for Oxford, in the County of Suffolk, a borough now in schedule A. Was that man fit to be a legislator? Were not the beautiful lines of Sir Walter Scott, applicable to that selfish, heartless individual. Mr. Thompson then repeated as applicable to this gentleman, the beautiful and forcible lines of Sir Walter Scott, commencing—

Breathes there the man with soul so dead, &c.

He more particularly applied to him, however, the following passage :—

'If such there be, go mark him well,
For him no minstrel raptures swell,
High though his title, proud his name,—
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite those titles power and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored, and unsung.'

Mr. Borthwick had objected to the missionaries because they did not understand Greek,—because they were unacquainted with the oriental tongues,—because they had not travelled over Palestine ; but did he forget that Christ chose ignorant, unlearned fishermen for his apostles, and that God himself declared that he chose the weak and feeble things of the world to overcome the strong—the foolish to confound the wise. (Applause.) Mr. Borthwick had spoken of ladies who had been abused and murdered ; torn limb from limb—where was the proof of the fact ? Linton's confession ? It said not a word about it. Mr. Thompson then entered into several statements relative to the demolition of Baptist chapels in Jamaica, amounting in value to twenty-three thousand two hundred and fifty pounds currency, and then said, he called upon the Wesleyans, Church-of-England-men, and Moravians,—upon all who were Christians and men, to come forward and make common cause with the injured, the calumniated, the murdered Baptists, against the white ruffians of Jamaica. [Immense cheering, followed by disapprobation.] He was sure that he had the hearts and consciences of the meeting with him ; and recommended Mr. Borthwick in future not to feel the pulse of the audience in such a manner as he had recently done, and in order to save him the trouble he would say ; ' Let those that believe that slavery is incompatible with Christianity, and ought to be abolished, hold up their hands.' [A vast majority of the meeting responded to the call, by holding up their hands, and this manifestation of feeling was hailed with the most enthusiastic cheering.] But those who thought otherwise hold

up their hands. 'None? Then none have I offended.' He denied that the planters had stopped the slave trade, although Jamaica and Virginia had petitioned against it, when they found they were overstocked with slaves, and wished to prevent their neighbors from getting a fresh supply. The planters, in fact, had never made any concession to which they had not been goaded. Had they not opposed Mr. Wilberforce, and divided, repeatedly, both Houses of Parliament against proposed ameliorations of the negroes' condition? Yet Mr. Borthwick said they wished for the abolition of slavery.

And Borthwick was an honorable man,

So were they all—all honorable men.

To him however, it was passing strange, that they should show their love for abolition by resisting it, as they had shewn their love to religion by burning the chapels and persecuting the missionaries. [Cheers.] If this was love, it was the love of madmen, who were said to destroy what they loved the best. [Cheers and laughter.] Mr. Thompson then alluded to the extract read by his opponent from the *Morning Journal*, and showed that the immorality of the slave had been caused by slavery, and by his forcible separation from the objects of his early attachment. 'The *Morning Journal* abuses four and twenty ladies of Clapham, and tells an anecdote of a man who in the first place was torn from Africa where he had taken a wife, severed from her and his children and brought to the West Indies. Was not that a crime, I ask? (Hear, hear.) In the West Indies he takes another wife, and then the *Morning Journal* and Mr. Borthwick charge him with bigamy;—but what caused the bigamy? The slave trade and slavery. (Loud applause.) He was again dragged from his second wife and children, and taken to America, where he took a third wife, and then he is charged with trigamy. What is it that occasions trigamy in the man who is torn from one wife in Africa, and from another in the West Indies, and takes a third in America? Slavery! (Applause, and cries of 'True, true.') Here is one woman left desolate in Africa; is there no 'evil' inflicted on her? Another is left desolate in the West Indies; is there no evil inflicted on her? The fatherless children, too; is no suffering and misery entailed upon them by so foul a crime? (Applause.) If Mr. Borthwick were wise he would keep such

things as these in the back ground. (Hear, hear.) Joy go with him and his bigamy and trigamy too. (Laughter.) If he goes on in this way, he, at least, will stand little chance of committing either bigamy or trigamy. (Much laughter.) He will not allow me to call the planters names,—why then does he call Pharaoh a tyrant? because he was a slave-owner. Why does he call ancient tyrants names, and not allow the same names to be applied to tyrants of modern times. 'O, says he, you must be very gentle, you must be very lamb-like, when you speak of modern slave-owners. If you speak of Pharaoh, you may call him tyrant; if you speak of Nero, you may call him tyrant; if you speak of the Goths and Vandals, you may call them tyrants; if you speak of the ancient feudal system in England, you may call the lords of the soil tyrants, if you will; but don't call the West Indian planters tyrants when you are pleading the cause of the negroes; don't call them names, but be very calm, peaceable, and polite.' I am reminded of an anecdote of Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, and will relate it, as some sort of excuse for my being a little warm occasionally, and to show why I perspire so much, why I am not so cool as Mr. Borthwick, who, you observe, never wipes the perspiration from his brows, but always keeps himself cool and comfortable. (A laugh.) As Demosthenes was one day sitting in his study, a person came to him and said, 'I want you to undertake my cause.' 'What do you complain of?' said the orator. 'Why,' replied his client in a very cool and calm way, 'why, down the street, a man struck me, spat upon me, and reviled me, and I am come to you to obtain redress.' 'I don't believe you,' said Demosthenes; 'I put no faith in your story; you don't look like an injured and insulted man; I cannot credit what you tell me.' 'Not believe me!' exclaimed the man; 'what! not believe me! when I tell you that he struck me a foul blow, laid me on the earth, spit and trampled upon me? Not think me an injured man?' 'Hold, hold,' said Demosthenes, 'now I believe you. I see it in the fire of your eye, in the quivering of your lip, in the agitation of your frame. Now I believe you, and will undertake your cause.' (Applause.) And shall we, when we plead the cause of eight hundred thousand human beings now breathing,—shall we, when we plead the cause of

the millions who no longer breathe,—when we speak of the men and women burnt in the villages and towns of Africa,—that died in the pathway of the desert,—that were thrown overboard to the sharks of the Atlantic,—that perished by disease occasioned by the seasoning;—shall we, when we speak of these victims to human avarice and depravity, be calm and cool, and say, ‘Pray, Mr. Borthwick,—pray, Mr. Kilderbee,—pray Mr. any body else, oblige us by considering the subject?’ No; if we love liberty ourselves; if we would die to defend it when invaded on our own shores, let us not pause till we obtain a complete and glorious triumph over colonial oppression.’ (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Thompson then exposed, in a tone of the bitterest satire, the inconsistency of Mr. Borthwick, in representing the negro as perfectly contented with his condition, and desiring no further freedom.

‘Mr. Borthwick is a great admirer of the missionary, yet he kept throwing dirt upon him at every step; Mr. Borthwick is a great admirer of the negro, yet he describes him as a complete beast in Africa and something worse in the West Indies; he is a great admirer of freedom, but he says that the negro is not fit for freedom; he loves religion, but he said that the insurrection in Jamaica had its first foundation in religion. (Cries of ‘No, no.’) The audience, however, stopped him short, and then he said ‘*perversion* of religion;’ for he

‘Can turn,

And turn, and turn again, and still go on.’

No man knows how to slide off in a beautiful curve better than Mr. Borthwick. (Hisses and applause.) Then he said something very beautiful about the happiness and contentedness of the negro, which would be very elegant, if it were true; but the misfortune is, that most of the things he says are not true, in fact. That he believes them to be true, I must not question. He says that the negroes do not care for freedom, that they set no value upon it,—that if you go round amongst them, and put the question to them, they will say, ‘No, Massa; me very happy, me want no more, me get all me care for;’ that, in fine, they would not have their freedom if they could get it. Would they not? Then why are the newspapers filled with ad-

vertisements of runaway negroes? Why are the prisons filled with runaway negroes? Why are the mountains peopled with runaway negroes? Why is the bush filled with runaway negroes? Why is a standing army kept to force slavery down the throats of the negroes, if they are in love with it? (Loud applause.) Does the mother hold a rod over the child's head to force it to eat apple tart? (Laughter.) Did Adam and Eve *run* out of Paradise? If the negroes like slavery, then withdraw the troops, and save us the trouble and expense, the loss of life and money needlessly incurred, if the negroes are contented with their condition. (Loud applause.) But they like slavery, and do not wish for liberty; and Mr. Borthwick exclaims they shall not have liberty now, because they do not know its value; but shall man be kept in slavery, because he does not know the value of liberty? See the pitiful dilemma into which Mr. Borthwick has brought himself; the negroes do not like what all men sigh for,—what they would bleed and die to defend,—what they would give house and lands, friends and reputation to obtain;—and here is the dilemma,—if it be so, then planters and proprietors, upholders of slavery, he defends and maintains a vile and brutalizing system, which has extinguished in man the most noble and generous quality which distinguishes him from the brutes. (Loud cheers.) What! because men do not like liberty,—if it be true that they do not like it, are we not to try to make them like it? Mr. Borthwick tells us that the negroes are very happy and contented,—that they want no more; and then he tells us of a man, a most miserable man,—if ever there were so very a wretch,—that bought fifty acres of land, and then said he did not want his own liberty. I should like to see the man who was thus in love with 'going round and round his tub.' Not like liberty for himself!—why, then, did he want it for his wife and children? Mr. Borthwick tells us that he might call them 'MY OWN' (Loud cheers.) Mr. Borthwick tells us that when asked the question, the man replied, 'I want to call them *mine*;' and I beg Mr. Borthwick to remember that word *mine*. Not like liberty! Suppose I go with Mr. Borthwick to a lunatic asylum; (I do not mean any thing invidious—I do not think that either Mr. Borthwick or myself are fit to be permanent residents in a lunatic asylum.)

tic asylum;) but suppose that we go as accidental visitors, just as he came to see me at Manchester. (A laugh.) Suppose we go into a ward, and see a man weaving a crown of straw, putting it on his head, and then walking up and down the ward, with his miserable rags trailing behind him, wielding his sceptre over an imaginary world,—Utopian princes bowing at his footstool. I say to Mr. Borthwick, ‘Is not that man happy? He never implores for liberty; he fancies himself clothed in regal splendor, with crouching slaves around him;—is he not happy?’ Mr. Borthwick would shake his head, be silent and turn grave. Then he might see another man chalking ludicrous figures on the wall, or stringing together senseless rhymes, and humming them the livelong day; and I might say, ‘Is not this man happy? He is always smiling; he is fully satisfied with himself; he never sends a wish beyond his prison walls;—is he not happy?’ Mr. Borthwick would still be silent. Then I might show him a beautiful female singing love ditties all day long,—an eternal smile playing on her countenance; and I might say, ‘Look upon this being and say, is she not happy? Are not all these happy?’ And then Mr. Borthwick, with a sigh, would answer, ‘No, they are not happy; see what a wreck of mind; see reason dethroned; see all the bright faculties of the soul gone astray! Oh! save them from this place,

‘Where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind,
Nor words a language,—nor e’en men mankind.’

Let us strive to bring them back to society and to rational being; let them, if it must be, taste its sorrows and its bitterness, but let them know what are its joys, its hopes, its anticipations; let them live to mingle with mankind, and fit themselves for immortality.’ And I reply, ‘Yes, let us try to save them; let all human means be used to save them from this place; and when you have dropped the tear of sympathy over degraded reason here, go to the West Indies, preach that doctrine to the slaves, and see whether, in their present prostration there is any reason why they should not have awakened in their minds a love of liberty, if it be not already there,—why they should not be raised from that hateful system by which they are now enthralled, and brought to the enjoyment of perfect freedom.’ (Cheers.)

But I am prepared to show that slaves *do* value freedom and long to possess it, notwithstanding Mr. Borthwick's declaration to the contrary. I hold in my hand two documents,—the first is a proclamation from Governor Ross, published in the *Antigua Register* of March 29, 1831:—

‘*ANTIGUA.*

‘By his Excellency Sir Patrick Ross, Knight, Commander of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Major-General in the Army, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's Islands of Antigua, Montserrat, and Barbuda, Chancellor, Vice-Admiral, and Ordinary of the same, &c. &c. &c.

‘Patrick (L. S.) Ross.

‘WHEREAS by my proclamation bearing date the twenty-first day of this present month, I did, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, offer a Reward of One Hundred Pounds to the Person or Persons, (except the actual offender) who should give such information as would lead to the conviction of the offender or offenders, who set fire to several cane pieces on this Island, and also a free pardon to an accomplice or accomplices, on conviction, by their means, of the actual perpetrator of such diabolical acts. Now, therefore, I do further, in compliance with the joint advice of both Houses of the Legislature, offer

FREEDOM TO ANY SLAVE,

who by his or her exertions and evidence, may bring to justice any of the incendiaries who have been destroying the canes in various parts of the Island.

‘Given under my hand and seal at Government-house, this Twenty-second day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-one, and in the First Year of His Majesty's Reign.

‘*God save the King.*

‘By His Excellency's command,

CHARLES TAYLOR, Private Secretary.

‘Duly published this Twenty-third day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-one.

MARTIN NANTON Deputy Provost Marshal.’

—*Weekly Register, Antigua, Tuesday, March 29, 1831.*

Now, Mr. Borthwick, when Governor Ross means to offer the highest reward which it is in his power to confer,—what is it that he does offer? A few more yams, a little more rum, or a little more clothing? No; but he offers the slave the highest boon which the island can grant,—he offers him *freedom*. (Loud cheers.) Another proclamation to the same effect was issued in Jamaica during the late insurrection.

Freedom, Mr. Borthwick, is the highest boon that governors and generals can bestow; and to-day I have been informed, by a gentleman now on this platform, that whilst



he was on the island of Nevis, a few years back, the inhabitants were alarmed by a tremendous storm, and found that a vessel had been wrecked, the crew of which were in danger of perishing. The planters stood on the beach, beholding the desolation on the waters, but they could not induce any person to launch a boat and go to the assistance of the persons in the wreck. At last, the planters offered freedom to any slaves who would put off to the assistance of the shipwrecked mariners, and immediately these men, who are said to care nothing about liberty, rushed into the boat, and risked their own existence to save those who were in danger of perishing. (Cheers.) In the year 1794 there was what was termed the Maroon war in Jamaica : and who were the Maroons? Runaway negroes! And where had they run from? From the 'four parlors and a saloon.' What did they run from? From the light work, the beautiful clothing, and abundance of food; from the kind care and culture of the planters. And where did they run to from all this comfort and happiness? To the bleak and desolate mountains, to the fastnesses of Jamaica. Ay, to the desolate mountain, from the four parlors and a saloon. And what did they do there? Why, whilst the negro of Jamaica was enjoying his four parlors and a saloon, drinking his wine, and revelling in all the luxuries of slavery, like another Sardanapalus, the negroes in the mountains were getting strong, increasing and multiplying, and at last down they came upon the whites, and threatened to exterminate them. The whites met together to consider how they might best resist the aggressions of the Maroons : the standing troops were called out, and found to be insufficient, and with the militia added they were still thought insufficient, and the arming of the negroes was talked of : but somebody said, 'How do you know, when you have armed the negroes, that they will fight for you? How do you know that they will not make common cause with the Maroons? You must find some motive sufficiently strong to induce them to fight.' And what was that motive? Was it food, house, a provision ground? No : they promised the slave liberty! (Loud cheers.) And with liberty in their hearts, liberty their watchword, and liberty their expected reward, they went to the battle plain, they fought and bled, and even many of them died, whilst the living

returned victorious, not to pull down chapels, not to injure innocent men, but to clasp to their bosoms their wives and their children, to stretch out their *free* hands to Heaven and say, 'Now, indeed, we are men and brethren.' (Hear that, Mr. Borthwick.) I beg my friends will not make any remarks; let them leave that to me, for I am exceedingly jealous of my privileges. (Much laughter.)

And now, Mr. Borthwick comes to Hayti; he thinks he has a fine specimen of the dangers of emancipation at Hayti; and he measures the happiness of the inhabitants of that island by the amount of their exports. But this is false philosophy, Mr. Borthwick. Suppose the people of Ireland were to ship less of their produce, less corn, fewer cattle, and fewer potatoes to foreign countries than they now do, and eat it all themselves, would any person assign this as a reason why they should be worse off than they were when they did export a larger quantity. (Cheers.) Mr. Borthwick ought not to measure the comfort and happiness of a people, by the amount of their exports. Would he argue, because the stage-proprietor did not carry so many passengers, and therefore did not run his horses so frequently, that the *horses* were worse off than they were before. (Loud cheers.) Would he argue that the ox was in a worse condition because he trod out less corn than he did before? How does it happen that the Haytians have not cultivated so much sugar as they did formerly. Why did they cultivate so much formerly? Because of the whip, to please their masters, not to please themselves. (Loud cheers.) What is the fact now? A gentleman who is now here is willing to come forward, and state it firmly, fearlessly, and openly. (Cheers.) After a twelve years' residence in Hayti, where he kept a regular account of exports and imports, and investigated the manners, motives, and desires of the inhabitants, he is ready to testify that the commerce of Hayti is prosperous, and that the peasants of Hayti are as happy as any portion of the human family. (Loud cries of 'Name, name.') Mr. Shiel. (Loud and reiterated cheering.)

Mr. SHIEL then stood upon the table, and said—Ladies and Gentlemen, called upon as I have been by the gentleman who has already addressed you for upwards of three hours, I do not come forward to make any long oration, I



merely come forward to say that the facts stated by that gentleman, with regard to Hayti, are perfectly correct, and that I have witnessed them. I know that the people of Hayti are free, independent, comfortable, and happy. (Cheers.) There is also another point which I wish to notice; a point which has never yet been laid before the British public:—I allude to the revolution which occurred in Hayti in 1822, when the Spanish part of the colony threw off the yoke of slavery. That revolution was effected by the people, without a single act of violence even of the most trifling character. (Cheers.) The masters, it is to be observed, were Spaniards—a people who never maltreated their slaves. (Hear, hear.) The slaves declared themselves free, shook off the Spanish yoke, and joined the republican part of Hayti, without a single act of violence or the slightest destruction of property. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. THOMPSON then resumed, and after eulogising the condition of the free negroes in Sierra Leone, in comparison with the West Indian, he said he would come to Mr. Borthwick's leg. [Laughter.] He wished he could come down from where he then was [Mr. B. was in front of the side boxes] and show them his calf, that he might see what he had to work upon—[a laugh]—although he suspected that there was *calf* higher when he gave that challenge. [Great laughter.] However he would reply to Mr. Borthwick's challenge, by giving him a counter one. He [Mr. T.] never said that *he* could lay open the flank of a mule with a Jamaica cart-whip. What he said was, that a skilful athletic slave driver had actually done so, in the presence of Mr. Coultart, the missionary. Now, if Mr. Borthwick could make a coat to fit him [Mr. Thompson] as well as the one which he then had on, he would give him two hundred pounds. [Cheers and laughter.] And if Mr. Borthwick could not make a coat, how could he expect him [Mr. Thompson] to lay open the calf of his leg, which he begged to assure him he would not do for the world, even if he could. Mr. Thompson then proceeded to combat the arguments of Mr. Borthwick in reference to the danger of emancipation. He quoted the example of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java, and of Bolivar, in Mexico, who abolished slavery by a dash of the pen, with the best results. He further observed, that after deducting

the slave population the females, the aged, the infirm, and the children, those who had been converted to Christianity by the missionaries, and those who were attached to their masters, the remnant of the disaffected or revengeful would be too trifling to occasion alarm, even were they disposed to resist the mild and kindly influence of British laws and British mercy. The cry of danger was a mere bugbear to enhance the price of compensation. We are not fed by slavery, said Mr. Thompson, in conclusion, we are taxed by slavery; ours is the cause of humanity, theirs of interest; ours of religion, theirs of tyranny.

Mr. Thompson concluded a lecture of four hours duration by returning thanks for the attention with which he had been heard. The meeting then dispersed.

MR. BORTHWICK'S REJOINDER.

On Friday evening the Amphitheatre was again filled at an early hour, to hear Mr. Borthwick's reply to the address of Mr. Thompson on the preceding evening.

CHARLES HORSFALL, Esq., was invited to take the Chair.

Mr. Borthwick then stood forward to address the meeting, but was loudly called upon to mount the table. This call he for some time resisted, but the vociferation continuing, he at length yielded to the persevering solicitations of the audience, and was then permitted to proceed. After some introductory observations he proceeded to say that the appearance of himself and his opponent before the public at the present moment, was, to say the least of it, rather premature, since two committees, one of the House of Commons, and the other of the House of Lords, were now sitting to examine the very matters under discussion; the former having been appointed on the petition of the abolitionists, and the latter in answer to the prayers of the West Indian body. The sitting of these committees must afford some security to both of those parties, at whose instigation they were appointed, that the question would at last receive due consideration, and that justice would ultimately be done. It was, therefore, premature in the Anti-Slavery Society to be sending their agents to and fro over England, to urge upon the people the necessity of the immediate abolition of slavery. If the object was to get the House of Commons packed by abolitionists, then he appealed to every reformer who was present if this mode of influencing the electors of Great Britain was not as bad as the much repudiated influence of the borough-mongers. These appeals would no doubt be followed by the proposal to require pledges from their future representatives, that they would vote for the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. He begged them, however, to suspend their judgment until they heard the evidence laid before parliament. This (said Mr. Borthwick) is the

sum of my request ; and this will appear—[A voice from the gallery—'By and by'—great laughter.] Mr. Borthwick then proceeded to reply to the charges of 'falsehood' and 'folly,' brought against him by his opponent, and to justify himself for referring in his former lecture to the published speech of Mr. Thompson, at Manchester. The statement respecting the free negroes at Sierra Leone, that the most happy of them were more miserable than the most miserable West Indian slave, he advanced on the authority of the Aid-de-Camp to General Turner. Mr. Borthwick then ridiculed the statement of Mr. Thompson, that like Nehemiah, he had a 'great work' to do, to accomplish which he must go hither and thither without stopping to carry on a discussion with Mr. Borthwick. The great work which Nehemiah had to do, was to build up the city of his fathers, the work of Mr. Thompson was to pull down. (Great uproar.) He rather resembled a certain person who, on one occasion, presented himself where the sons of God were met together, and who was said to go to and fro over the face of the earth. Mr. Thompson had replied to his former speech by recapitulating his twenty-six evils. He ought to have shown that these were peculiar to slavery in general, and to British colonial slavery in particular. This, however, he had failed to do. He had failed to prove that his first evil, the sterility of the soil, was peculiar to slavery. He had failed to refute the objection to the second evil,—the enslavement of the children of slaves. He admitted that the child of the English peasant might rise to the highest distinction, and obtain the dignity of Lord Chancellor,—a fact, which there were two splendid instances now living to prove. That the child of the slave might become a member of assembly was equally true. Hopkinson, Esq. the son of a female slave, who now resided in Liverpool, was so elected. With regard to the principle, that the sins of fathers might be visited upon their children, it was recognised by the express declaration of God himself. Mr. Borthwick then alluded to some of the other evils quoted by Mr. Thompson, and repeated many of his former arguments in refutation of these. He then, before proceeding further, read to the meeting a letter he had received that afternoon from Mr. Wm. Smith, in reference to an anecdote quoted by Mr. Thompson the

evening before, from the Christian Record, respecting the punishment of five negroes for trespassing and plucking grass upon the estate of a Mr. Wildman. Mr. Smith stated that his father was the magistrate before whom the negroes were examined, and that no proof was adduced that the mistress of the slaves had participated in their offence, by directing them to commit the trespass. Lord Goderich had directed, through Lord Belmore, that an investigation into the circumstances of the case should take place, when Mrs. Clarke, the owner of the slaves was fully exonerated from any blame. After commenting upon this letter Mr. Borthwick proceeded to inform the audience, that on the evening of his last lecture Mr. John Cropper, who was standing behind the boxes, said to the persons near him—'Hiss the scoundrel down.' This statement occasioned the greatest sensation and uproar in the meeting, during which Mr. Adam Hodgson got upon the table and attempted to address the audience. He was strongly opposed, however, particularly by the gentlemen who were placed upon the stage; and finding it impossible to be heard, he again resumed his seat. Mr. Hodgson afterwards made a second attempt to be heard, and mounted the table for that purpose, but was again compelled to descend without effecting his purpose. Mr. Borthwick, however, ultimately succeed in obtaining for him a hearing.

Mr. Hodgson having a third time ascended the table said that he had too much respect both for the meeting and for the chairman to have taken a place upon the table without his permission. He wished the gentlemen on the stage behind him to know this fact. (Hear.) He did not stand there to disavow the fact just stated by the gentleman, or to extenuate that fact. It was an error, a very great error—an error, so great, that had he, as chairman, heard Mr. Cropper utter these words, he would have felt it his duty to send an officer to take Mr. Cropper under his charge. (Hear.) He then read a communication which Mr. Cropper had addressed to him in the expectation that the subject might be publicly alluded to that evening, and which was nearly to the following effect:

'I exceedingly regret that from a want of self-control, and from a momentary impulse of feeling, I gave utterance to a very unjustifiable expression of feeling for which I am to blame. I made the very earliest apology to Charles

Horsfall, and as it was made in thy presence, and to thy satisfaction, I shall feel obliged by thy communicating the same to the meeting. I am thine truly.

JOHN CROPPER.

[We understand that the occasion on which Mr. Cropper inadvertently gave utterance to his feelings, was that on which Mr. Borthwick charged the Baptist missionaries with having instigated the slaves to rebellion.]

Mr. HORSFALL briefly stated that Mr. Cropper did call on him on the following morning, and made an apology in the way he had described.

Mr. BORTHWICK then resumed his lecture; and in allusion to the alleged cowardice and meanness of slavery, observed that this would form a good argument against the slave trade, but had no force in reference to the present condition of British Colonial Slavery. The word cowardice reminded him of the circumstance of Mr. Thompson declining to lecture before a chairman, whose name was a synonyme for all that was noble in the character of a British merchant, and honorable in that of a British gentleman. But before such a gentleman, because he was connected with the West Indian Association—Mr. THOMPSON (in a loud voice) 'Read the letter' (cries of 'shame'—'turn him out'—'throw him over'—'*break his neck*'—and great uproar, in which many of the gentlemen on the stage heartily joined. [We observed a number of young lads who formed the back row of the stage to be particularly vociferous.]

When order had been partially restored, which was not until the lapse of some time, the CHAIRMAN addressing Mr. Thompson said, he must be well aware of the impropriety of his conduct; he must be well aware of the effect of the example he had set; he trusted there would be no more interruption; but if there was, either Mr. Thompson or any one who occasioned it, should be taken out of the house. (Prodigious uproar.)

Mr. THOMPSON immediately rose from his seat which he occupied in the front of one of the side boxes, and waving an adieu to the audience, retired from the house. The friends who surrounded him at the same time rose, and several of them accompanied him out of the box.

Mr. BORTHWICK then re-mounted the table and attempted to address the house, but it was some time before he could obtain a hearing, so great was the sensation produ-

ced by the occurrences which had taken place, and the indignation felt by the friends of Mr. Thompson, at the cause which had led to his retirement or expulsion from the house. By the exertions of Mr. Edward Cropper, however, and the other gentlemen in Mr. Thompson's box, Mr. Borthwick, at length, obtained a hearing. He said that although Mr. Thompson had made allusions to him more difficult to be borne than any he had used in return, he had offered no interruption. Was it then consistent with decency that he should be so interrupted. Mr. B. then replied to Mr. Thompson on the evils of the depopulation of the colonies, and the licentiousness which prevailed. He also contended that Mr. Thompson had given no reply to his theological arguments. Mr. Thompson had given some imitations of his voice and manner. He confessed he had not so much stage trick as Mr. Thompson; that he did not wipe his brow or perspire so much. (Uproar.) After a variety of other observations, during the delivery of which a good deal of interruption took place, Mr. Borthwick alluded to the state of Hayti, and invited Mr. Franklin, a gentleman who had resided in that island, to describe its present condition.

Mr. FRANKLIN then mounted the table and after stamping his foot several times, said he was glad to find that the table was firm; at which he was not surprised, since the Castor and Pollux of the Anti-Slavery Society had been on it last evening. Mr. Franklin then gave some statistical details respecting Hayti for the purpose of showing that its inhabitants were sunk in indolence, and that the amount of its exports and imports had vastly decreased.

Mr. Borthwick then resumed his place on the table, and was received with great cheering mingled with a few hisses. He observed that he had now proved from the testimony of a gentleman who had resided on the island of St. Domingo, that the free,—ay, the FREE laborers of St. Domingo, were forced to labor at the point of the bayonet! Which of the two did they prefer? (Cheers and hisses.) Oh, but they were *free and happy!* What! free and happy under such treatment? Were there any such things in the West Indies? ('Ay, and worse.' 'No, no.' Cheers and hisses.) He had promised before sitting down to place to his friend Mr. Franklin to say a

them about interest; he would now do so. What would be the consequence if West Indian sugar and other articles of tropical produce, could not be brought into the market; and it had been shown that it could not be brought into the market by free labor;—a point which was perfectly indisputable in the present condition of the negro mind. What if British colonial slavery was done away with, and the colonies thereby reduced to the same condition as St. Domingo! Why, that sugar would not be grown, in those colonies any more than in St. Domingo, and what must be substituted for it? Why East India sugar to be sure. [Cheers.] Now was it not well known that the opposite party were deeply interested in East India produce? [Great cheering and clapping of hands.] He had got them, then, completely on the hip. [Cheers and hisses.] How then was the article cultivated in the East Indies? By free labor it was said, but he would show that the lower classes in the East Indies were in an infinitely worse condition than the slaves in the West Indies. Mr. Borthwick then read an extract from the Gentoo Code, declaring the punishment of cattle stealing to be death in time of war, and maiming in time of peace,—for reading the Shaster, by certain of the lower castes,—to be pouring molten lead into the ears of the offenders,—whilst by the same code the punishment for stealing a man of low caste, was only a fine of thirty-two shillings. [Cheers.] Mr. Borthwick then read a passage from the work of Sir Wm. Jones, the eminent orientalist, giving a shocking account of domestic slavery, as it exists in Madras and quoted similar passages from Dr. Buchanan and other writers of acknowledged authority, relative to the abject condition of the lower castes in Hindostan, and the arbitrary and cruel treatment to which they were subjected. So much for free labor sugar,—the disinterestedness of the Anti-Slavery Society! and the humanity of the twenty-four ladies of Clapham, who would not use West Indian sugar, because, forsooth, it was grown by slaves. [Immense cheering.] This affected humanity reminded him of an anecdote which he would relate to the meeting: A Polish Jew riding through a forest, on a fine horse, was met by a Cossack, who dismounted him, and took possession of the horse. The Jew complained of the theft before a magistrate, but the Cossack denied having stolen the horse, and said that

he had found it in the forest; 'Found it,' exclaimed the Jew, 'why, was not I upon its back?' 'Why, yes,' said the Cossack, 'I found you too,—but was in no want of a Jew, so I left you and kept the horse.' [Laughter and cheers. 'Go it, my little 'un. Well done, my little un.'] Mr. Thompson had said that the 5th clause of the Jamaica Slave Code, relative to the separation of families, was the climax of West India legislation in favor of the slaves, that this was the kindest thing done for the slaves by West India legislators;—now they should see what truth there was in the assertion. What did the law of the Bahamas say on this subject? Why it expressly declared the separation,—child or children, under 14 years of age, to be illegal,—any sale, either judicial or private,—under such circumstances, to be null and void,—and forbidding executors to execute any legacy to that effect, under a penalty of £100 per each offence. Mr. Borthwick read similar enactments from the slave codes of Granada, Nevis, Tobago and Dominica,—the latter of which, passed in 1829, not only prohibited the separation of families,—but enacted that the slaves should not be removed from the estate to which they belonged. What then became of the truth of Mr. Thompson's assertion that the 5th clause of the Jamaica slave code was the demon of West Indian humanity. A good deal had been said of Mr. Jeremy,—the dear,—delightful Jeremy;—and the island of St. Lucia. But St. Lucia was a French colony;—it had only been recently in possession of Great Britain when Mr. Jeremy went out as Lord Chief Justice. There was hardly a person on the island who could speak the English language, and the laws which Mr. Jeremy sought to amend, were French laws,—not those of Great Britain,—or of the British West Indian colonies. Because the French were cruel to the slaves,—what was that to the great body of the West Indian colonies? Even in St. Lucia, things were growing better,—but what proportion did St. Lucia bear to the rest of the West Indian colonies? Its population was only 13,661, not one sixtieth part of the West Indian colonies. Mr. Borthwick then referred to the authority of Mr. Booker, now resident in Liverpool, to show that the missionary Smith, about whose death in Demerara so much had been said,—had been ill of a consumption long before the break-

ing out of the rebellion, and that his death was in no degree accelerated by his imprisonment. Mr. Thompson had complained that during the insurrection in Jamaica, the judge had sat with his head hidden in his hand, and simply asked whether the slaves brought in were taken with arms in their hands—and if answered in the affirmative, ordered them out to immediate execution. But did not Mr. Thompson know the nature of the rebellion that was then raging in the island? That the wives and daughters of the families were subjected to the most horrible atrocities? Mr. Thompson had given a beautiful description of the wretched inmates of a lunatic asylum,—but would Mr. Thompson in his tender mercy, give them immediate emancipation,—would he turn them adrift?—(‘No, no,’—cheers and hisses.) If not,—why then Mr. Thompson would keep them in salutary confinement, and that was exactly what he (Mr. Borthwick) said of the slaves. It would be the greatest possible unkindness to give immediate freedom to the slaves; for if they were so liberated, they would be exposed to the villany and deceit of every one whom they met with. (Hisses and cheers.) The slaves were now provided for,—and how did Mr. Thompson mean to compensate them for depriving them of the comforts they now enjoyed? (Cries of ‘give them freedom—cheers and hisses.) Freedom,—ay,—they heard much of freedom. (A burst of disapprobation followed by cheers.) They were told that freedom would make up for every thing;—what was freedom?—Was it to be coerced at the point of the bayonet? (Hisses and cheers.) Let the anti-slavery society show that the liberated negroes in St. Domingo were happier or better in consequence of their freedom, or that there was no slavery in the East Indies—and they would do something for their cause—but until they did so, they had better be silent. He had now noticed more,—a great deal more in Mr. Thompson’s lecture than was even in the shape of argument. He had not contradicted Mr. Thompson in the course of his lecture;—but Mr. Thompson and his friends had interrupted him repeatedly in the course of his, and every such interruption, he (Mr. Borthwick) regarded as an admission of the weakness of their cause. (Cheers and disapprobation.) Mr. Borthwick then read an extract from a letter written

by the late Mr. Huskisson, stating that the history of the world did not present an instance of such rapid improvement, as that exhibited by the West India colonies. (Cries of 'Oh! oh!' and much laughter and cheering.) He then again accused his opponent of unfairness and ungentlemanly conduct, and asked the meeting what they thought of the constant interruptions he had experienced, the propriety of Mr. Thompson's putting the question to a show of hands, and of a chairman, who, when such question was put, held up both his hands in support of it. (Cheers and hisses.) It had been shown that free labor was not practicable in the West Indies;—it had also been shown by sufficient testimony that it was inconsistent with the condition of things in the East Indies in the present condition of the human mind, that free labor should produce the tropical fruits of the earth. Would they throw away colonies which produced seven millions annually to the revenue in direct taxation? Would they refuse all intercourse with the planters who took their goods at a rate of from 55 to 60 per cent. dearer, than they could get them elsewhere? ('Oh! oh!') How did it happen that the Anti-Slavery Society, who were such friends to morality, religion, and humanity, exulted in the late rebellion, during which such atrocities had been committed? (Cheers and hisses.) Why did they compare the rebels to the Bolivars, the Brutuses, and the Napoleons, (laughter) and the Tells? The opposite party had opposed nothing to his arguments but ridicule and clamor, and every interruption was a proof that their cause was beaten. (Cheers and hisses.) Mr. Thompson had said in reference to the report of the Wesleyan Missionaries of Jamaica, that the Rev. Mr. Young had repudiated that report, but Mr. Young had affixed his name to it, and if he said one thing in Jamaica and another in London, that was sufficient to prove what credit was due to Mr. Young. Mr. Borthwick then admitted that the burning of the Baptist chapels in Jamaica was very wrong, and could not be justified, but excused it on the ground of momentary irritation, excited by the universal belief that the Baptists had been chiefly instrumental in the rebellion. He then accused Mr. Thompson of impiety in mixing up passages of Scripture with quotations from Byron and Shakspeare, and in liken-

ing himself to the Messiah, when he offered to take upon himself all the guilt of England from the time of Elizabeth down to the present day ; and concluded by challenging Mr. Thompson, or any agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, to a public discussion,—each speaker half an hour at a time, the question to be decided by the audience at the conclusion of the debate, and all the expenses to be defrayed by the West Indian body.

Mr. BORTHWICK concluded his lecture at half-past ten o'clock, and the meeting separated soon afterwards, having previously attempted to raise cheers for Mr. Ewart, Lord Sandon, and other individuals.

MR. THOMPSON'S THIRD LECTURE.

Extracts from Mr. Thompson's third Lecture in reply to Mr. Borthwick.

On Thursday evening, September 6, Mr. G. THOMPSON delivered his third lecture on the Evils of Colonial Slavery, in the Amphitheatre, Liverpool, to an audience as numerous and respectable as that on any previous evening, at half-past six o'clock.

SAMUEL HOPE, Esq., took the chair, and exhorted the meeting to give their patient, candid, and silent attention. As an additional motive for their indulgence towards Mr. Thompson, he stated that that gentleman had been laboring for some time under severe indisposition, not unattended with alarming symptoms, a fact which he (the chairman) stated on his own responsibility, not having consulted with Mr. Thompson himself on the subject.

Mr. THOMPSON then rose, and was received with much applause. He spoke to the following effect,—Ladies and Gentlemen,—in appearing once more before you on the present occasion, I beg to announce that I have determined on the adoption of a line of conduct to-night, which I trust will be at once as agreeable to you, and equally creditable to myself, as that which I adopted when I had last the honor of appearing before you. I have thought since that night, that it is not justice to the injured negro, whose cause I have the honor to plead,—that it is not just to the various and momentous topics involved in the consideration of the question now before us,—that it is not just to so large and intelligent an auditory as that now before me, or those which I have had the honor of seeing before me on former occasions,—nor is it just to myself, constantly to discuss this question in reference to particular individuals who may from time to time stand forward as advocates of other views than those which I felt it my conscientious duty to adopt. I, therefore, shall to-night, with your kind permission, leave out of sight both myself and the gentle-

man who on two several occasions, has advocated the other side of the question, and come at once to the discussion of those topics which I think of deeper interest and higher moment than any thing that can concern me, a humble individual, or any thing that can possibly affect the gentleman who appears on the other side. (Applause.)

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I come to that line of argument, which I have marked out for myself to-night, I shall just glance at one or two statements, made on Friday night, for the purpose of clearing the way before us. It was then stated that we ought to leave this great question to the Committees of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, whose reports are not yet before the public. Now I humbly submit that we have had quite enough experience of the efficiency of reports sent forth by the House of Commons, and by the House of Lords; quite enough of such committees. Parliamentary speeches and reports, and their efficiency, call upon us most imperatively not to waste a moment, either whilst the committees are sitting, or the reports printing and circulating, knowing that the great measure of emancipation has never been advanced a single step by any thing like a voluntary movement of Parliament, but always in obedience to the impulse of public opinion. (Hear, hear.) We have had quite sufficient experience to guide us on the present occasion, without any such delay; with volumes upon volumes before us, touching the character and operations of slavery, why should we waste a single moment till these reports are laid before the British public? [Applause.] Surely it will not be contended, even by the most zealous supporter of slavery, that we have yet to learn what slavery is? On the showing of my friend himself, we can learn the ancient history of slavery from the Scriptures; we can learn the modern history of slavery from every one who has been in the West Indies; and yet, with this accumulation of evidence from past and present ages, we are called upon to delay expressing our opinion on the subject, until the House of Commons and the House of Lords have put us in possession of fresh information! We shall be glad to add that to our stock of information; but surely we are not to wait till that information is laid before us. [Applause.] I beg to make another remark in reference to an illustration



which was given of the possibility of a negro infant rising from the condition in which he was born to fill one of the highest stations in the colonies. That illustration was, that a slave in the colony of Demerara eventually became a member of the House of Assembly in that island. I beg to remind Mr. Borthwick, (though I am sure it was an unintentional mistake on his part,) that there is no House of Assembly in Demerara; he might, however, have become a member of the Council; it is true that that gentleman was the child of a slave mother, but who was the known and avowed parent of that child? A West India planter, a gentleman residing in that colony, who, happening to adopt a line of conduct which I wish every planter under similar circumstances would adopt, acknowledged his son, brought him up as such, and raised him to the same rank in society which he himself held. (Hear, hear.) It was only in consequence of that father being a freeman that the child of a slave raised himself to that eminence, which is so boldly adduced, by the gentleman on the other side, to prove that there is nothing in slavery which dooms the child of a slave to interminable bondage. (Cheers.)

I shall not attempt to reply to the comparison which the gentleman drew between me and a certain notorious individual, who, when he came among the sons of God, and was asked whence he came, said, 'From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.' I may so far resemble that personage that I have come here from walking up and down upon the earth; but unless that gentleman can show that our objects are similar, I do not think the comparison will serve his purpose. (Laughter and applause.)

One word in behalf of the missionary Smith. I learned from the report published in the *Chronicle*, (for I was not there myself,) that Mr. Borthwick said that the death of the missionary Smith was in no way accelerated by the treatment to which he had been subjected in the colony of Demerara. I hold in my hand the substance of two debates in the House of Commons, on the 1st and 11th of June, 1824, on a motion submitted by Mr. (now Lord) Brougham on the subject of the Rev. John Smith, late missionary in Demerara. I beg to refer to page 8 of the substance of

the debate in Parliament. Mr. Brougham, in the course of opening the subject, said,

‘It appears that Mr. Smith officiated in the colony of Demerara for seven years. He had maintained during his whole life a character of the most unimpeachable moral purity, which had won not alone the love and veneration of his own immediate flock, but had procured him the respect and consideration of almost all who resided in his neighborhood. Indeed, there was not a duty of his ministry that he had not discharged with fidelity and zeal. That this was his character is evident even from the papers laid upon the table of that House. These documents, however, disclose but a part of the truth on this point. Before I sit down I shall have occasion to advert to other sources, which show that the character of Mr. Smith was such as I have described it; and that those who were best qualified to form an opinion, had borne the highest testimony to his virtuous and meritorious labors. Yet this Christian Minister, thus usefully employed, was dragged from his house, three days after the revolt began, and when it had been substantially quelled, with an indecent haste that allowed not the accommodation even of those clothes which, in all climates, are necessary to human comfort, but which, in a tropical climate, were absolutely essential to health. He was dragged too from his home and his family, at a time when his life was attacked by a disease which, in all probability, would, in any circumstances, have ended in his dissolution but which the treatment he then received powerfully assisted in its fatal progress. He was first imprisoned, in that sultry climate, in an unwholesome fetid room, exposed to the heat of sun. This situation was afterwards changed, and he was conveyed to a place only suited to the purposes of torture, a kind of damp dungeon, where the floor was over stagnant water, visible through the wide crevices of the boards.’

If we are told that Mr. Smith was laboring under a consumption, that only makes the matter worse for those who, seeing him in such a state, dragged him from his home without even a change of clothes, so necessary in that sultry climate; it is only the worse for those who plunged a man in the last stage of consumption, first into an uncovered room, and then confined him in a place where the atmosphere was perfectly impure; where filth and stagnant water were seen through the boards of the floor. (Hear, hear.) Let it not be said that Mr. Smith was hale and strong,—let it not be said that he was a healthy man when he went into prison, and was really killed by the treatment he received there; let us acknowledge that he was under the influence of a wasting consumption at the time; and then in what light do the authorities of Demerara appear when they plunge a man, whose guilt is not yet established, into a place so likely to accelerate death,—a place so unfit for his accommodation, if the hand of disease were already upon him? For a period of five or six months was this holy man confined in a noisome prison, and then he was

manumitted. He left oppression and cruelty in Demerara, for that land of liberty, life, and love, where he is now enjoying that beatific vision of which the authorities in Demerara and in the other colonies would deprive those who are now being taught the way of life and salvation.

Another word with regard to Hayti. I do not know why it is that Hayti is for ever brought upon the tapis to scare the English nation from doing their duty towards the slaves in the British colonies. Why is Hayti thus spoken of? I had the honor to introduce before you, on Thursday evening, a gentleman who had resided for twelve years in the Island of St. Domingo, who declared the peasantry of that island to be the happiest he had ever met with, and that gentleman has travelled much, both in Europe and America, and who told you it was utterly false that the negroes were made to cultivate the soil at the point of the bayonet. On the face of it, this mode of coercion appears to be perfectly impossible. Will any body on the other side describe to us the amount of the discipline inflicted on the negroes in St. Domingo, as we can describe the discipline on cane pieces in the West India colonies? It is easy to imagine a gang of thirty slaves on every such cane piece,—men, women, and children, under the management of the athletic driver, leading them on to labor by the cruel whip,—stimulating their languid frames by the whip, and supplying motives to the mind by torturing the body; but here, in St. Domingo, there are a thousand motives for exertion free from personal coercion, and I am sure no one can point out how a mode of discipline like that generally spoken of by the opposite party, as existing in St. Domingo, can be maintained. How can men be kept to labor by the point of the bayonet? The gentleman who addressed you lived for twelve years on the island; he travelled over its length and its breadth, again and again; he has gone from one end of it to the other, with mules laden with treasure, and slept, night after night, in open places, and never met with the slightest molestation; he had been present at all descriptions of labor, and he never saw any thing like coercion used to obtain the products of the earth. He likewise declares that never was greater industry displayed in the world than may be seen about the docks and quays of that island, and this, too, in the absence of all coer-

cive measures. He himself saved 50 per cent. in wages in one year by introducing a graduated scale of task work, instead of paying the laborers by the day, as before ; and he declares that he never saw men put forth greater energies, or work with more willingness than those employed by himself and other persons in the island in this manner.

Now with regard to East India sugar, and West India sugar ; it cannot be shown that the produce sold here, as the produce of free labor, is the produce of slave labor ; it cannot be shown that the slavery of the East Indies bears any resemblance to the slavery in the West Indies. It has been shown, by a gentleman now on this platform, that the two systems are not comparable in atrocity, and it is well known that the anti-slavery world are most willing to enter into the details of this part of the subject. But even if what is called the East India slavery were all that it is said to be, will Mr. Borthwick vindicate the continuance of slavery on that score ? Will two blacks make a white ? two wrongs a right ? Will our friends on the other side never leave off palliating one crime by reference to another crime ? (Applause.) One word more with regard to Mr. Jeremie :—not one of his facts has been impugned ; it has not been shown that he has erred in one single circumstance which he has stated ; and the only mode of defence, or rather the only mode of opposition adopted against those invaluable documents, the 'Four Essays on Colonial Slavery,' is the assertion that St. Lucia was a French Colony, and that we are not answerable for the abominations and crimes committed on that island which but recently came into our possession. But Mr. Jeremie went to St. Lucia in 1826, and remained there till 1829, and that island was ceded to us in 1815, so that there was quite sufficient time to introduce improvements if any had been intended.

Looking at the line of defence which has been adopted on this occasion, I do not admit that the appeals you have heard from Mr. Borthwick can be called any thing but a defence of colonial slavery. Let every thing, therefore, be called by its proper name. We are seeking to obtain the emancipation of the negro ;—how ?—by fair and manly means. On what principles ?—on Christian principles. To whom do we appeal ?—to unpacked audiences of 3000

of our countrymen ; half collected by the West India body, half by ourselves. (Applause.) We appeal to your judgments ; for authority we appeal to the Scriptures ; for argument and illustration to the wrongs and woes, the sighs and groans of captives for centuries, of the men and women in the colonies, whose natural rights ever have been, and still are, as sacred as our own. (Loud applause.) What then! this being our object, this being our glorious goal, whilst we are patiently and steadily pressing onward towards that goal, who comes across our path ? Men who call themselves evil genii ; men who come to hunt the advocates of this measure on these principles, like an evil genius ; and yet we are called upon by them to say, and to believe, that they are working in the same vineyard with ourselves ; that they are sowing for the same harvest with ourselves ; fighting for the same glorious conquest with ourselves. (Applause.) If they be, why, then, vituperate us ; why defame our society ; why revile and desecrate our principles ? why thwart our benevolent views ? If our objects be one ; if our wishes be one, why are we thwarted ? I say, to defend slavery. (Cries of 'No, no,' and 'Yes, yes.')

I repeat it—to defend British colonial slavery. No other object can those have who would resist or thwart measures which have for their object the safe, equitable, and righteous settlement of this long-debated question. (Loud applause.) What ! do they fear lest we should run too fast in the race of humanity ? Do they fear lest the system should come to the ground too soon ; that the slave should rise to the condition of a free and happy peasant too soon ? Would they wait till the last Ethiopian stretched out his hands to God, before they granted the boon of freedom ? Would they have us refrain from lifting up our voices, like the sound of the ram's horn, before we bring down the walls of their infernal Jericho, and leave not a stone standing ? (Loud applause.) It is declared that the only difference between us is, the difference between to-day and to-morrow. What ! all this fuss about to-day and to-morrow,—we wanting to do it to-day and they to-morrow : we wanting to do it immediately and they gradually ? Why, do they not remember that ours *was* a society to procure gradual emancipation for the negro ; that ours *was* a society for the gradual abolition of slavery ? And were they less hostile to us then than they are now ? When we were professing

the very principles which they now profess, did they labor with us? Did they subscribe to the funds of our society? No: they were as hostile to us as they are now; but now the only part of the political machine which served their interests, being about to be done away with in a reformed Parliament, they find it necessary to make up the deficiency by an active agency, like that which I have had the pleasure of witnessing in this place. (Applause.) They tell us that they were friends to the abolition of the slave trade; whence then arose the necessity for the unceasing and protracted labors of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, and a Granville Sharpe? How was it that when Granville Sharpe, in this very town, was collecting evidence on the subject of the slave trade, he was nearly pushed from the pier into the sea, to be buried beneath the waters? Why was that deadly hostility continued up to the very hour that the diabolical traffic was destroyed? Those who defended the slave trade then, are those who defend slavery now; the same class of men, filling the same situations in society, having the same interest in the system, and many of them identically the same persons. (Hear, hear.) They can now have only one of two motives in view; let them take their choice. They are either acting on the motive I have described, namely, a desire to perpetuate the system, or they want to come in at the death with us, and share our triumph; a very dastardly piece of conduct this. (Laughter.) No; it shall not be allowed, unless they will manfully say, 'We have been in the wrong, and you are in the right.' Let them do this, and then we will give them the right hand of fellowship, and walk onwards together until the last stone of this horrible fabric tumbles to the ground; but while they insidiously profess to support emancipation, —at the same time calumniating, thwarting, and opposing us, —they are the friends of slavery, and not of its abolition. (Loud applause.)

I am accused of unjustly and improperly interfering in electioneering matters; —will the honorable gentleman say that the interference of the boroughmongers in past times, sending seventy or eighty members to the House of Commons, who held their seats on the simple condition of defending slavery, was just and proper? What! is it improper in an Englishman to speak on this subject before an

audience of 3000 of his fellow-countrymen, in his native town? What! is it improper to appeal to their judgment as to the manner in which the elective franchise ought to be exercised? What! is it improper and unjust to endeavor to inform their judgment when the franchise must be exercised properly, in proportion as the judgment is informed, and the conscience awakened? Is this any thing like the influence exercised by the boroughmongers? If it is, *where* is the point of resemblance? None; there is no resemblance whatever. It is competent to that man—it is competent to me—it is competent to any one, to express an opinion on the subject; you cannot prevent it.

In estimating the array of force against us on this question, we ought never to forget all the family connexions of the planters, their wives—Heaven bless them! and their children, and their brothers, and uncles, and aunts, and all their dear expectant relatives and friends. We ought not to forget either the ladies or the gentlemen, either the young or the old, either the beautiful or the ugly; we ought not to forget the captains, the clerks, and coopers, many of whom can lend a hand if necessary, even in the Liverpool Amphitheatre, for aiding the cause of West India slavery. [Laughter and applause.] Nor must we forget the delightful stories told by individual visitors to the colonies; ladies and gentlemen who have absolutely seen the West Indies, sate in the house of the planter, and come home to describe Jamaica and the other islands, as so many Paradises, and persuade us that the peasantry of our own country are far worse off than the laboring population of the West Indies. And pray, whom did these ladies and gentlemen go to see, the planter or the slave? The planter.—At whose table did they dine? The planter's table.—On whose couch did they sleep? The planter's couch.—Whose friends were they? The planter's friends.—Whose wine did they drink? The planter's wine.—With whose daughter did they dance? The planter's daughter.—On whose horse did they ride? The planter's horse.—In whose ship did they come home? The Liverpool merchant's ship. And yet these gentlemen who came home, and ladies too—for ladies do sometimes plead the cause of slavery—these parties think themselves perfectly qualified

to draw a correct picture of slavery in the West India colonies.

'Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.'

And then the delightful patronage of this system ; popping of people into nice places, the appointment of governors and their dependants, and the very nice and accommodating births to be filled up, as managers, overseers, and so forth, and so forth, all contribute to the support of the system. Another support is the subornation of the press, the hiring of the press. It is a notorious fact, known to all the world, that a great portion of the press of this country is bribed to uphold the system of colonial slavery. [Hisses and applause.] I say that the press has been bribed. I know that the conductor of a Glasgow paper has received many thousand pounds, voted to him by colonial Houses of Assembly, and the West India body at home, for advocating the cause of the planters, and supporting slavery. Another source from which the system receives support is the ignorance of the British public ; and I say that ignorance on this subject is, to a certain extent, crime also. We have been wilfully ignorant on the subject ; we have not opened our eyes to the fact before us ; we have not examined into the nature of British colonial slavery, else our fears would have been alarmed, our humanity shocked, our religion exercised, and, ere this, (but for our ignorance,) we should have got rid of this odious system. Pride has done much, and timidity has done more, to prevent its——[Hisses.] I hear a hiss : is it not as I have said ? He who is not with us is against us. The timid amongst mankind are hanging back, from an apprehension of the danger of emancipation, simply because they will not take the pains to ascertain the truth. Their fears would be removed if they only came to the light to be examined. Compare the danger of the abolition of the system, with the danger of its continuance, and that of abolition will sink to nothing. A great many inconsistent people do not like slavery themselves, and would wish to get rid of it ; but they have no pity or concern for the slaves in the West Indies. Charles James Fox, who was as great a friend to liberty as any man, said that to com-

pare personal slavery with political slavery was a base imposture; they should not be mentioned in the same breath; and there was no comparison whatever, between the thralldom of the negro and that of the British community. Many are not laboring with us because they do not properly estimate their own value in society; they are for leaving to somebody else with more riches, more power, and influence than themselves, forgetting that this is a personal question, that all men are bound to labor in this vineyard; that they can set an example to others; and though they deplore their own insignificance, and properly and laudably too; though they think meanly of themselves, such thoughts ought not to hinder them from doing what they can, remembering that what they do may reprove sin in high quarters, and tend to promote the great work of negro emancipation. [Applause.] Therefore, I say, let no man keep back from an idea of the insignificance of what he can do in this cause, for, as the *Westminster Review* has justly observed, every sixpence given by an old woman to promote the emancipation of the negro creates a pang in the heart of the lordly West Indian. [Applause.]

Now, what is the mode of defence set up for the continuance of West India slavery?—As they allege, slavery should not be touched with a hasty or inconsiderate hand, because it is a very ancient system. This is one of the arguments set up for its continuance; but if crime were to be justified because it was of ancient origin, then we might vindicate murder on the very same principle, for every body knows that Cain was a murderer when he slew his brother Abel. But then, there is the scriptural argument for the system of slavery. The scriptural argument is drawn from these passages:

‘Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that *are* with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them* for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever; but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor.—*Leviticus* xx, 45, 46.

These are the only passages quoted from the Old Testament to show that slavery is not sinful; but let us take the general tenor of the Old Testament before we come to any decision on that point. I find the state of the

ment as drawn from the Old Testament to be briefly this ;—slavery was invariably, when sanctioned by Almighty God, a judicial punishment appointed by himself in consequence of the crimes of the people subjected to its rigor. This was invariably the case with regard to all the instances which had in the remotest degree the sanction of Heaven. I should enter more fully into this point if I had time and strength ; unfortunately I have neither ; but I assure this large and respectable auditory, that I have, at a very great sacrifice of comfort and personal health, been at considerable pains, since the gentleman mooted this argument, in tracing the history of slavery as given in the Old Testament, and I am prepared to prove that the slavery of the Scriptures is invariably a judicial slavery, inflicted on nations and people who were doomed to death, and that in no one instance is man allowed, without the sanction of the Almighty, to seize upon his fellow man and reduce him to slavery. (Loud applause.) The gentleman will also find that in no one instance was it ever assumed, or ever acted upon, that continuance in slavery for any length of time, rendered the subjects of that system unfit for the enjoyment of liberty. Almost in every instance their Emancipation was instantaneous, whenever it was resolved that their crimes had been atoned for; that when their right to liberty was acknowledged, it was never assumed, or acted upon, that their continuance in slavery presented any bar to their entrance into a state of liberty. Again, the gentleman will find that there is a great deal of difference between *prophecy* and *permission*, between *permission* and sanction ; a crime prophesied is not therefore a crime *sanctioned*,—a crime permitted is not therefore a crime approved. The gentleman alluded to certain prophecies regarding slavery, but I think that he will admit with me that the pre-annunciation of any crime is not the permission of that crime ; that the prophecy that Canaan should be cursed, and his children the slave of slaves, was no sanction, no permission of that system of slavery which subsequently came into operation. Again, the same Scriptures invariably record God's anger and indignation against all acts of cruelty and oppression, and direct that even in the enslavement of the Canaanites, the paramount doctrines of justice and mercy were to be observed, and in that very

prophecy which has been alluded to, it is said that vengeance belongs to God, and He will repay it. He will not allow mortal man to

‘Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
Rejudge His justice—be the God of God.’

It appears, therefore, that though man, in this instance, with the sanction of Almighty God, might enslave his fellow-man, as a commutation of the sentence of death passed upon him, he might not oppress him, he might not enslave others without such sanction, and tyrannize over them from any inclination or motive of his own.

Not only is the old Testament appealed to by the defenders of slavery, but recourse is had to the New Testament to vindicate the present system of slavery in the colonies. The silence of Christianity is pleaded, and the conduct of the Apostles is pleaded, as an extenuation, if not vindication, of the continuance of slavery.

It is sufficient for us to know that all the doctrines, all the principles, and the genius of Christianity, are inimical to the system of colonial slavery, and that the great fundamental maxim of the Christian religion binds us to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. (Applause.) We are not to be guided simply by the precept that servants are to be obedient to their masters, without considering the reciprocal duties which masters owe to their servants. One injunction laid upon him who is struck on the right cheek is, that he turn his left also ; but surely the advice given to the *smitten* is no justification to the *smiter* ! Neither is the precept given to the slave any justification to the master for holding his fellow-man in a state of slavery. (Loud applause.) Again, the danger of emancipation is insisted on as a reason for continuing to hold the slaves in bondage. I have endeavored to expose the fallacy of this argument, and to show that the danger is all on the other side. What danger can there be from infants ? What danger can there be from women ? What danger can there be from the sick, the infirm, the aged ? What danger can there be from the Christianized negroes, or from those who, we are told, are satisfied with their condition, and attached to their masters by the ties of affection and gratitude ? The great danger arises from upholding a system of outrage and injustice ; the great danger arises from oppression ; the great danger arises from the continuance

in a course of crime and impiety ; and, as I said before, the danger of doing wrong is always considered greater in a well-regulated mind, than the danger of doing right. [Applause.]

Then there is the knotty question of compensation ; on this question I have only one word to say. My only objection to compensation is, that it should be mixed up with the measure of emancipation. I hold, most sacredly and seriously, that we should take into consideration the rights of the negro irrespective of the rights of the colonists ; that is, we should first consider the rights of 800,000 living human beings, and then consider the rights of the planters. I have no objection to compensation as an after consideration ; and as the gentleman on the other side stated that the planters only require compensation if it be found impossible to obtain an equal amount of labor, under a free system, with that which was obtained under the slave system, I am quite willing to grant compensation to the full extent of that principle, whenever a loss can be made out before a committee of impartial individuals. (Applause.) But, I fear, the true grounds of their opposition to us on this question are,—first, a love of power, inherited and cherished by those connected with the West India system ;—and in the second place, it is very natural that a body of men so powerful and respectable as the West Indian body, should be extremely jealous and irritable with respect to any interference with what they consider their rightful and legitimate property ; from the number of conflicting claims it is, therefore, evident that the planters cannot grant emancipation ; the merchants cannot grant emancipation ; the mortgagee cannot grant emancipation ; the overseers cannot grant emancipation ; and that nothing but a legislative measure on the subject, passed by the British Parliament, can settle this question. (Applause.)

Now, if we can show that instead of our laws guarding the rights and liberties of the negro, they absolutely deprive him of those rights and liberties, why then those laws are no laws to him,—they are unrighteous laws, and the slave, when he tramples them under his foot, behaves like an Englishman,—and he who gibbets him for it is a murderer and a felon. (Cheers and hisses.) I hear a hiss ; what would the man who hisses, say if he were

unjustly imprisoned, deprived of his liberty, his offspring and his life, by laws which never protected him? (Cries of 'Serve him right, turn him out.') If instead of turning him out you would turn him nearer, that we might see him, that we might learn who he is and where he lives, and who it is that pays him his wages on Saturday night. (Laughter and applause.) That we might know what he is made of. That we might look into his heart; we should find out who are our opponents, whether they deserve to be respected as lovers of their kind, or to be despised as men who would monopolize liberty to themselves, and deny it to the rest of the world. (Applause.) Paley, speaking of the natural rights of men, says,

'The natural rights of man are, a man's right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his personal labor; to the use, in common with others, of air, light, water. If a thousand different persons, from a thousand different corners of the world were cast together upon a desert island, they would from the first be every one entitled to these rights.'

Is there any thing to hiss at here? Does not the man who hisses know that if he were in bondage we would plead his cause, we would ask liberty for him? Is it not as meritorious to plead the cause of the African as it is to sympathize with the insulted and degraded Poles? Should not the liberty of Africa be esteemed as much as that of Columbia or Mexico? What, then, is it our duty to do?

I come back to the original object which I stated we had in view, which is the immediate and total abolition of colonial slavery. What do we mean by immediate? Why, that immediate steps should be taken for its abolition, in opposition to what is called gradual emancipation, which means no emancipation at all. If I told a builder to-night, to build me a house immediately, should I expect to see the coping stones and chimneys up to-morrow morning? No; but I should expect to see him getting materials, laying the foundation, arranging the scaffolding, and going on, from day to day, in the prosecution of the work. If a man were awake in the night, and told to go immediately for a physician, would he go without putting on his clothes? Would he transport himself by some magical effort to the place whither he was told to go immediately? No! In like manner we would take the necessary steps to secure the abolition of slavery. Others would *temporise*, propose

modifications of the system, and do what they can to perpetuate it. 'Wait a little time,' say they; never mind how mercy bleeds, or justice frowns, how the negro suffers, or the Englishman petitions,—do it gradually, yes, do it gradually. I wonder what they mean by gradually? When will gradual emancipation arrive? I remember an anecdote told of Charles James Fox, who, when in power, was very deeply in debt; he had a secretary named Hare; and 'like master like man,' both were up to the ears in embarrassment. Mr. Fox looking one morning out at the window saw coming up the street an old money-lending Jew, to whom both were indebted. 'Well, Solomon,' said he, 'what are you after this morning? Are you Fox-hunting or Hare-hunting?' 'Why, for the matter of that,' said the Jew, 'I am both Fox-hunting and Hare-hunting; I want both; I want my money.' 'You must wait, Solomon,' said Mr. Fox. 'I cannot wait,' said the Jew; 'I want my money; have I not a right to my money?' 'Certainly, Solomon; you have a right to your money, Solomon—a most undoubted right, Solomon; but it is inconvenient to me to let you have it now; you can call again, Solomon, come on such a day.' The Jew went accordingly, and again the answer was,—'Wait, Solomon; both Mr. Hare and myself are so deeply involved in business that we have not time to attend to the settlement of your account;—call again, Solomon.' Solomon went again, and still the answer was, 'Wait, Solomon.' 'I cannot wait,' said Solomon at last. 'I will not wait a day longer than your next appointment.' 'Well, then,' said Mr. Fox, 'suppose we say, Solomon—the day of judgment, Solomon.' 'Oh!' said the Jew, 'that will be far too busy and important a day for the settlement of your account.' 'Well, then,' said Mr. Fox, still determined to be factitious, 'suppose, Solomon, we say the day after!' (Laughter.) This is exactly the line of argument pursued by our friends on the opposite side—'Wait till the day of judgment,—wait till the day after but don't do it now!' 'Why not do it now?' 'Oh, there are the poor, the infirm, the old, and the young!' Well, are not the poor, the infirm, the old, and the young, provided for now? And would there not still be the same fund for their support, though it should come in another shape, and through another chan-

nel? (Hear, hear.) Were the poor of England worse provided for when there were no poor laws, than they are now? Would it be worse for the planters to maintain the old, the infirm, and the young, than it is to maintain them now? Is there not wisdom enough in the British Parliament to make some arrangement for the maintenance of these poor old men, and old women, and young children? Are the planters the only persons in the world who can give the negroes four parlors and a saloon, and carry them wine when they want it?

My friends,—We are warned to do this work; every motive that can influence the human mind calls upon us to do it, to do it *now*, not to lose an hour in the performance of this solemn duty. If hurricanes or tornadoes could warn us, we have had them; if insurrections and bloodshed could warn us, we have had them; if the tremendous mortality amongst the negroes could warn us, that mortality is ever before our eyes; if the depreciation of West Indian property could warn us, that depreciation we have seen and daily see; and even whilst I speak a blight and mildew cover every part of the system, and nothing but retracing our steps can bring back peace, security, and prosperity, to the colonies. (Loud applause.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not longer take up your time to-night. The subject is not yet exhausted, though my strength is entirely gone. As I understand that the gentleman, who has already appeared twice before you, is again to address you, I may ask on his behalf what I asked on my own, that you will hear him patiently. If I myself offered him any interruption, when he last appeared before you, and when he alluded to the philanthropic gentleman 'whose name is a synonyme for every thing that is noble in a British merchant and honorable in a man,' remember the impression which that statement was calculated to produce, had it gone forth from this platform uncontradicted and unexplained. It was said that I declined to lecture before that gentleman, when, if the truth had been told, it would have appeared that my sole objection to lecturing before a chairman of the West India body, an objection stated in the most handsome terms I could devise, was an apprehension of being compelled to say, in the course of my lecture, what might be thought to do violence to the

feelings of the chairman. (Applause.) As I came to Liverpool uninfluenced by any particular body, I thought I had a right to consult my own feelings on the subject, and, therefore, I claimed, for the sake of my own feelings and those of the Chairman, that we might have a disinterested person in the chair. (Applause.) But when I found that persisting in such determination might, in the least degree, disturb the harmony between the two bodies, I instantly acceded to their wishes, and expressed my perfect willingness to lecture with Mr. Horsfall, or any other gentleman as Chairman on the occasion. (Cheers.) This led me to request that the letter might be read; and as the letter was alluded to on this platform in a manner calculated to prejudice me in the opinion of the meeting, I think it might have been read in order that the auditory might be in possession of the facts. (Applause.) And I cannot but accuse the Chairman, on that occasion, of something like reservation in withholding that fact from the audience, when he well knew that it was not from cowardice that I objected to lecture before him, but a regard for his own feelings as a gentleman, whom I honor from the character I have heard of him; but I still say that to sit in that chair and not give the whole truth to the auditory, was an act of reservation which does little honor either to his head or his heart. (Cheers.)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have now done; I leave the cause in your hands. I believe our treaty with the West India body is nearly at an end. I have only further to say, hear patiently, judge candidly, consider deliberately, and then decide between us; and say whether the arguments adduced for the continuance of slavery, or mine for its abolition, are the strongest. If mine, speak with one heart and with one voice, and declare it for ever at an end.

Mr. Thompson concluded his address at a little after nine o'clock, amidst the loudest cheering and clapping of hands, and the audience soon afterwards quietly separated.

THE SUBSTANCE OF A LECTURE,

Delivered Thursday evening, September 20th, 1832, in the Wesleyan Chapel, Irwell Street, Salford, Manchester, (Eng.) by George Thompson, Esq. This Lecture was delivered by Mr. Thompson soon after Mr. Borthwick, the Agent of the West Indian pro-slavery party, had publicly said that he would follow Mr. Thompson 'from place to place, like his evil genius'—how far the intention of Mr. Borthwick was effected the result of Mr. Thompson's labors fully demonstrate.

On Thursday evening last, Mr. G. THOMPSON, who for the last three weeks has been zealously laboring in the cause of negro emancipation at Liverpool, delivered a lecture in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Irwell-street, Salford.

The lecture was announced to commence at seven o'clock. The admission was by tickets, for which there was an unprecedented demand. As early as five o'clock the doors were surrounded by a number of most respectable persons, and by half-past six the chapel was crowded by one of the most respectable auditories ever witnessed either in Manchester or Salford. We observed a considerable number of the Society of Friends present. At twenty minutes before seven Mr. Thompson was recognised walking down the aisle, attended by several of his friends, and was greeted with enthusiastic cheers. A few minutes before seven, W. Hill, Esq., the Boroughreeve, entered, and was loudly cheered. Precisely at seven o'clock Mr. Thompson, accompanied by the Boroughreeve and Mr. Peter Clare, left the vestry and ascended the pulpit stairs. Mr. Thompson came to the front of the pulpit, bowed respectfully to the assembly, and was received with immense cheers, which lasted a considerable time. The Boroughreeve briefly introduced the lecturer, and expressed a hope that during the evening there would be no de-

monstration of feeling inconsistent with the sacred character of the building in which they were assembled.

Mr. THOMPSON said that it was with unfeigned gratification, though with very considerable fear, that he consented to present himself before so very large and respectable an assembly. His gratification was of a very high order, because the present was a strong proof that the interest which was awakened on the subject which was that night to engross their consideration, had not become by any means diminished, but seemed rather to have increased. He wished it might continue to be so. He wished that their zeal in so good a cause might continue to increase till victory was achieved, and that, as they proceeded in their career of mercy, they might leave behind them every thing which would sully the honor and the character of the struggle in which they were engaged. He, for one, was more than ever convinced that the cause they advocated required none of the ordinary means of making it popular—none of the ordinary means of defending it—that it was quite sufficient to trust in the high and commanding principles which were involved in the discussion, and to rely on those views which truth, unmixed with any other quality, will bear to the mind, rather than connect it with personal considerations, and make this a conflict for victory in argument rather than a triumph of mercy over oppression. And he trusted that whilst on the one hand he should avoid all compromise of principle, he should on the other avoid the use of those weapons which in some cases might be legitimate and allowable, but which in this were perfectly unnecessary, because the subject, clad in its own character, would make a strong and effectual appeal to the heart. And if he did, when he last had the honor of appearing before an auditory in that place, under the influence of strong feeling, and from a conviction, which at the present time he must again express, that a most unhallowed and lawless—though he believed in the end it would prove to their own cause a most beneficial—attempt was in progress to retard the accomplishment of the object dear to all his hearers—if with the knowledge of this fact, and being personally involved in the matter, he did give expression to feelings and sentiments not perfectly necessary in the advocacy of the cause—let it be recollected that it required no ordinary

measure of Christian charity and self-command to restrain the feelings and check the lips when upon the threshold of giving utterance to sentiments under which men are laboring—and when a cause based upon Christianity, and on whose side are enlisted all the attributes of humanity, was attacked by men who professed to have the same object in view with themselves, and who yet, at every step, were drawing deadly daggers and aiming them at the heart of their opponent. (Applause.) The present was a manifestation of friendship which was, he believed, never witnessed till the men who were the direct foes to the object which they had in view professed, when they were on the eve of effecting their object, to take the work out of their hands—and when it was accomplished, not by the energies of those men but of themselves, would cheat them of their prize and appear before the world as the correctors of those evils which others had seen for years, and in trying to remove which they had been met at every step by the most determined opposition.

Mr. Thompson afterwards stated the course which he intended to pursue in his lecture, and said that as his former addresses had been directed to shew the general evils of colonial slavery—the situation and general character of the slave—the mode in which the system was upheld—by whom and by what variety of means it was sought to palliate its dreadful enormities; so, as that might be the last time he should have the honor of delivering an address in Manchester, he should wish now to do something in the way of summing up the question, by bringing, very concisely and briefly, before his auditory the principal evils which were embodied in the system, to show that not only the general idea of slavery was bad, but that by taking it to pieces and examining its particular parts they might see it was altogether evil—that from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot the monster was nothing but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores. (Applause.)

Slavery, and particularly such slavery as was to be found in the West Indies, cursed the soil upon which it existed, and almost inevitably, wherever it had obtained, whether in our dominions or in the dominions of other powers, had produced barrenness and sterility, and prevented nature from bringing forth her fruits in that measure which other-

wise she would, had the course pursued to obtain them been equitable and just. And how did this result? The people of England had pursued a course of conduct at once the most unjust and at once the most absurd, in making it exceedingly desirable for the West Indian planter to send, at all hazards, as much sugar into this market as the ground could possibly create. So fond, indeed, were we of slavery, that we did not grudge some millions and a half of pounds yearly, in the way of direct bounty, to foster a system under which women were flogged, children were doomed to slavery from the womb, and to every description of evil by which they could be degraded and destroyed. He begged to direct attention to the main argument used to delude the public into a notion that they who were endeavoring to thwart the efforts of the anti-slavery society, were the best friends of the negro, and that they only held them in bondage to nurture and prepare them for that liberty to which it was their desire to introduce them. If this argument was sincere, how did it apply to the infant? Was he not fit for freedom when he came into the world? Must a child be trained in slavery in order to enjoy the bliss of liberty? Was that either a human or a rational course? What had the infant done that even before he came into the world a price was put upon him to render the mother of greater value, and that, from the hour he came into this breathing world, he is consigned to slavery bounded only by that place where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. (Applause.) On their own shewing, he claimed liberty for every infant that breathed. (Loud applause.) The argument of unfitness could not apply to them, and the man who took the infant from its mother's breast, and giving it to another to be fed or suckled, then drove it to work for his profit, his ease or his aggrandisement, under the infliction of stripes that mercy wept to see inflicted on a beast,—such a man was not a whit better than he who took his ship to the western shores of Africa and burdened it with the wretched villagers whom this dastardly planter, knowing nothing of the perils and toils thus sustained, bought and labored in the colonies. (Applause.) Thus were they told that they must not remit the negro because he was unfit for freedom, and yet they were daily introducing them into that state which dis-



qualified them from being useful members of society. They incurred an awful responsibility, and his auditors partook of it if they were concerned in taking men from the land of their birth, and consigning them to the influence of a system which almost forbade improvement, and which never did and never could qualify them for any of the duties or the real and proper pursuits of life. See, (exclaimed the lecturer,) yon tottering slave on the margin of the grave, about for ever to sink from the sight of mortal, and to enter upon that state where no change, as regards character, can be possibly achieved. He is now sunken in vice, exhausted and diseased in body, and knowing not, perhaps, whether a God reigns; he plunges, almost in the dark into that world where man shall be introduced into the presence of a heart-searching judge. What reason is there to believe that that man might not have been an useful, perhaps an ornamental, member of society? (Applause.) He might have been trained to embellish the age in which he lived, and the world of which he had been an inhabitant—he might have risen to honor and independence, and achieved a deathless name! But see him as he is—degraded and despised, reduced to the level of the brute, he dies unpitied, and the curtain closes upon his history. (Applause.)

But it was said that the mother did not regard her offspring—that for her it might pine in neglect, or fall a victim to the absence of maternal sympathy, whilst in truth the mother was driven to the field to labor, when with the fondness of a parent she should have been rearing her infant for useful life. How, he asked, did they prove their assertion? Would a British audience believe it, upon the mere *ipse dixit* of the advocate of a wicked cause. Did the raven feed its young, the tigress care for its offspring, and all the irrational creation, with few exceptions, invariably look with anxiety and care to those whom they brought into existence, and should it be said that the negro mother cared not for her innocent babe? But if she did not, rather than they should be consigned to the tender mercies of a planter, an attorney, an overseer, or a driver, cast them on the bounty of ETERNAL PROVIDENCE, and let him who sees the sparrow when it falls—let him who hears the raven when it cries—let him who numbers the hairs

on the negro's head take up the child when father and mother forsook it, and let it live for ever on the care of that omniscient BEING. (Loud and continued applause.) Slavery, he contended, depressed the body, whilst it withheld from the mind of the negro all the ordinary motives to incitement. Those by whom he was surrounded knew the thousand claims which they had upon their exertions, and the various demands that were made upon them. They had their wives and children dependent upon them, they looked to the product of their labor for character, and hoped by means of it, to ascend to wealth and honor, and, after the vigor of their days had passed to retire to affluence and ease. Ask the trader (continued Mr. Thompson) why he labors—why he rises early and retires late, and eats the bread of carefulness. It is because he perceives in after years a comfortable subsistence for himself, and because he hopes to provide for his offspring, and to leave them some means of stepping beyond the limit to which he had been born. Ask the sailor why he ploughs the trackless main—it is that he may achieve a conquest over his country's foes, and return to receive the hard-earned tribute of honor and reward, and retiring to the bosom of his family, go at last from this busy world to one of peace, security, and love. Ask the author why he labors, and he will tell you that he hopes to have his name recorded amongst the celebrated of his age. Ask the statesman why he labors—ask any free man why he labors, and you find that necessity of some description is laid on him sufficiently strong to induce him to undertake it, and sufficiently powerful to support him in its performance. But ask the slave why he toiled, and he challenged his opponent to prove that he was under the influence of one of these motives.

Mr. Thompson asserted, upon the authority of Mr. Stephen, that the negro was worked sixteen hours and forty minutes in the day. He contended that among the other evils incident to his lot were the facts that slavery entailed on its unhappy victims all imaginable suffering—that the slave was doomed to the torture of the cart-whip, the collar and chains, the field stocks, the picketing of St. Lucia, the block and tackle of Jamaica—that slavery annihilated the population engaged in it—that the negro was doomed to laws, arbitrary in their character and wickedly adminis-

tered—that ignorance was the inseparable attendant of bondage—that his subjection destroyed the self-respect of the slave, and all consequent moral purity—that on the other hand it raised in the breasts of the planters a spirit of pride and arrogance, and even destroyed the softness of the female character—that the treatment they endured, engendered in the slaves revenge and all other base passions—that slavery endangered the existence of society, and gave rise to conspiracy, rebellion and assassination, and that, above all, it drew upon those engaged in it the wrath of that God whose laws were thus trampled upon.

That slavery endangered the safety of every community in which it existed; we had, he said, a proof in America. Let them look at the planters of Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and other States. They would find that the owners of slaves were sometimes obliged to sleep in their houses with a number of negro infants around them lest the parents should set fire to their dwellings. (Hear.) Should any power desire to attack America, what more had they to do than to arm the negroes, and lift up the standard of liberty among their habitations. They would thus have planted in the heart of their dominions a system fatal to their independence. The opening words of their declaration of independence were, that all men were equal in the sight of God, and that to deprive a man of his liberty was one of the foulest crimes of which another could be guilty. (Applause.) This *free* and independent people had two millions of slaves, and from five to six hundred thousand free people of color, men as deserving as any of their pale-faced tyrants, and yet were they scouted and repudiated wherever, they bent their steps. So much for freedom—so much for patriotism—so much for reform, a term which always meant reform of our neighbors and never reform of ourselves. (Cheers.) This was the love of liberty which meant liberty to do what pleases ourselves, but let nobody else do as he likes. This was the liberty of our brother Jonathan, (Laughter,) and this was the liberty of his father, John Bull. (Laughter.) Worthy son of a worthy sire! Both must put this abomination from among them, if they would justify their boasted love of liberty before the world, and purge themselves from the stain which slavery had brought upon them. Slavery hated the light—

slavery hated the truth—slavery hated knowledge and religion. Who would deny that slavery loved darkness—that it loved ignorance, that it sought concealment. Light would expose its enormities—would make it blush—religion would denounce it, and reason held it up to the universal execration of mankind. (Applause.)

But it was said that the planters loved religion. They shewed it by pulling down chapels—they shewed it by punishing missionaries—they shewed it by desecrating the Sabbath—by snapping all the ties of moral law, and rejecting all the provisions of the gospel. Yet did they love religion; and it was proved by their union, in Jamaica, to sweep every sectarian from the island. He had heard that persons afflicted with a certain species of mania always killed those whom they loved best. (Applause.) The planters laughed at religion—they banished the missionaries—they demolished the churches, and desecrated the altars of God, and they, therefore, were mad. He hoped, in pity, that they were, and if they did not deserve to be in the dungeons of the New Bailey, the best place for them was a lunatic asylum. (Applause.) But it had been said that the missionaries were interested, that they were cobblers and tailors in their own country, and that they left £30 a-year here, for £250 abroad. And, if they had £2250 it would not compensate them. It would not repay them for the burning sun—the wasting toils—the rending anxieties—for the scorn and contumely, with which they were treated—for the premature and inglorious graves into which many of them were buried—and for the pangs inflicted on their Christian and their faithful hearts. (Loud cheers.) They had been told, too, that if they were the disinterested persons whom they were represented, they should go to the wilds of Africa, and amidst its deserts and sands should inculcate the divine truths which they preached in the islands. And so they did—on the banks of the Gambia they were found, long ago, striving in the great cause to which they were devoted, and finding a grave upon the banks of that far-famed river. With all the perils of the task, palpable to them, did these holy men set forth, from their native land, to preach the gospel of redemption to the oppressed people of those climes; but the earth had not made its revolution round the sun—the season had not

gone by, ere, in Western Africa, their remains were gathered to their fathers, and their spirits went to their reward. (Loud applause) They were to be found with the Laplander midst his snows—if they would go to the plains of Hindostan they would find them there, striving to stay the rolling car of Juggernaut—to stop the misguided hand of a parent who was about to offer an unoffending victim, in penitence for an imaginary wrong—they might be seen snatching the infant from the waters of the Ganges, or tearing it from the jaws of the crocodile. In the temple of the Brahmin, in the hut of the negro, in the wigwam of the Australian—north, east, south and west, they might be found, to convict their libellers of falsehood, of irreligion, and of impiety. (Long-continued plaudits.) Mr. Thompson contended that the slave-system caused, as they knew, an absence of sympathy between England and her colonies—that it was *per se* instable—that in every way it was impolitic—that it was a positive infraction of the constitution, and that it was based in cowardice. For where did we seek our slaves; did we go among the warlike people of the earth, or did we not rather select the most grateful—the most peaceable race, thus rendering those very attributes which should constitute a claim to our regard, and induce us to throw over them the shield of our power—incitements to our cupidity.

Mr. Thompson then observed :—

There is one branch of this momentous question to which I desire to draw your serious attention :—

1st. Because it has been made the foundation of a defence of slavery as it now exists in our dominions.

2nd. Because it appeals to the feelings of that portion of the community which, above all others, I am desirous of seeing among the friends of negro emancipation.

3rd. Because it involves the high consideration, whether unto us belongs a *discretionary power* to act towards our fellow-men as we are now acting towards our colonial bondsmen; and

4th. Because it affects the honor and equity of that Being 'who doeth according to his will in the army of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth.'

That part of the subject is this; *the abstract sinfulness of holding men in personal thralldom.* In other words, can

any circumstances justify men in holding their fellow-men in slavery, without incurring guilt by so doing? I answer, **YES**; and the existence or non-existence of certain circumstances creates the justification, or occasions the guilt of the man-stealer or the slave-holder. When such circumstances are *present* he is *justified*. When they are *absent* he is *guilty*. It is argued, by an advocate on the other side, that **SLAVERY** in the *abstract* is *not* **SINFUL**; that is to say, to steal a man, and hold him in bondage, is not *prima facie* a **SIN**. I humbly and submissively contend that it is a **SIN** so to do, and I will proceed to give my reasons:—‘To the law and to the testimony.’ ‘In the beginning **GOD** created the heavens and the earth;’ and when he had beautified the heavens and adorned the earth, he said, ‘Let us make man in *our* image, after *our* likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.’ ‘And it was so;’ for the ‘**Lord God** formed man out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.’ Then started into being *that awful—that mysterious—that inexplicable compound Man*—that masterpiece of the creation. *Man!—erect—rational—pure—immortal Man!*—Man! the lord of the creation—the monarch of the world—the favorite of heaven—the possessor of a deathless spirit—the heir of an eternal destiny. Was he then a slave? No! not even to Deity itself; he held the mighty power to eternize his being and his bliss; or bring into the fair and spotless world of heaven’s munificence the monster death and all imaginable *woe*. He fell—*freely* he fell. Behold him where he lies; a noble pile in ruins! Yet survey those ruins; how costly—how magnificent—how imperishable are the fragments! That **HE** might with those fragments build himself a living temple, the Architect of the universe did not withhold his Son,—His only Son—but gave him up up to death that he might lay in Zion, for a foundation, a *a stone*—a chief corner-stone, elect and precious to give stability, and life and eternal duration to the fabric of his everlasting love. Oh!

How poor, how rich, how abject, how august,—
How complicate, how wonderful, is **Man**!



Distinguish'd link in being's endless chain !
 Mid way from nothing to the Deity !
 A beam ethereal sully'd and absorpt !
 Though sully'd and dishonor'd, still divine !
 What can preserve his life ?—or what destroy ?
 An angel's arm can't snatch him from the grave ;
 Legions of angels can't confine him there.

Such a being is *Man*, find him where you may ; however rude, however wretched, of whatever color, of whatever clime—a being born for immortality—as precious in the sight of heaven and in the covenant of grace, as the fairest among the sons of men, though he should centre in himself the learning of a Johnson and the genius of a Milton—and the philosophy of a Bacon and the imagination of a Shakspeare,—a being who may soar as high in heaven, and who will live as long in *eternity* as the *proudest* and *wisest* of the children of *men*.

But to return to the argument before us ; the commands of God touching the enslavement of any member of the human family are explicit. 1st. 'Thou shalt not steal.' This command, which has reference to all descriptions of robbery, must include the stealing of men, which is universally allowed to be the worst description of robbery that can be committed. 2d. 'Thou shalt not *covet* thy neighbour's house, wife, man-servant, maid-servant, ox, ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.' Now I ask—is there belonging to a man any thing more precious than his own *person*, his own liberty? and if the desire to possess the house, or ox, or ass of our neighbor be sinful, is it not equally so, nay, more so, to covet his *life* his *limbs*, his *wife*, and his *children*? 3rd. In *Exodus* 21st, 6th, we read 'He that steal-eth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand he shall surely be put to death.' We see here in what estimation the Almighty held the crime of stealing men. Again, Deut. 24th., 7 v., 'If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then that thief shall die : and thou shalt put away evil from among you.' *Maimonides*, *Jarchi*, and the *Mishnic Doctors*, interpret these laws in their strictest sense ; with regard to the latter one, they say, that in the term 'brethren of the children of Israel,' are included the old and the young, the *male* and the *female* :

the Israelite and the Jewish proselyte ; and 'making merchandise,' as using a man against his will, as a servant lawfully purchased, yea, though he should use his services *only* to the value of a farthing, or use but his arm to lean upon or support him, if he be forced so to act as a servant, the person compelling him but once to do so, shall die as a thief, whether he has sold him or not. These passages, I think, clearly point out to us what should be our conduct under *ordinary* circumstances. They teach us that we are not to *steal at all*, not to *covet at all*, and that the *stealing of men*, the making *merchandise of men*, the forcing of men to serve *against their will*, are crimes considered worthy of DEATH. The passage so often quoted, to prove that slavery is not sinful, is to be found in the 25th of *Leviticus*, from the 39th to the 46th verses, inclusive. It is, however, upon the 45th and 46th verses that the argument is principally built; they read thus :—

'Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that *are* with you, which they began in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them* for a possession; they shall be your possession; they shall be your bondmen forever; but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor.

In reference to this passage I would observe, that, to me, it appears highly probable that the expression, 'for ever,' in the text before us, does not apply to the bondmen here spoken of *individually*, but *collectively*: as the tenth verse seems to promise liberty to ALL, both Jew and *Gentile*, at the year of Jubilee.

'And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout *all the land*, unto ALL the inhabitants *thereof*; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.'

From this passage I infer, that, although the Jews were to be permitted to obtain bondmen from among the strangers who sojourned in the land during the continuance of the Mosaic dispensation, yet at the year of general redemption those who had been reduced to active service were to share the benefit of the proclamation, leaving the Israelites to supply their places by others, who, there is no doubt, might be obtained without any difficulty. Let us for a moment look at this slavery.

1st. Who were the 'heathen round about?' 'the strang-

ers who sojourned in the land ? ' They were remnants of nations, who had filled up the measure of their iniquity, and against whom the wrath of God was therefore revealed, even '*unto death.*'

2d. They were the inhabitants of a land promised for many centuries to the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. A land that was to be purged from the pollution of idolatry, and the most abounding profligacy, and become the theatre of the most stupendous events, and be peculiarly characterised by '*Holiness to the Lord.*'

3d. The bond service to which they were subjected was almost, in all respects, perfectly dissimilar to the degrading slavery which now prevails in the West Indies. In the majority of instances being only the *payment of tribute*, leaving them at liberty to avail themselves of every just means of acquiring wealth ; and only preventing them from becoming possessors of the soil which God had given to his '*peculiar people.*' *Purchased servants* were to be treated with especial kindness, and seem, in most cases, to have been a superior order of dependants. Hired servants appear to have been among the meanest of those who bore the name of servants among the heathen, and were generally employed as hewers of wood, and drawers of water, or, in other words, as the bearers of burdens—persons engaged in the lowest occupations.

4th. Their *treatment as servants* was to be invariable distinguished by *kindness* ; maltreatment entitled them to instant release ; the Sabbath was theirs ; the court of the Gentiles was theirs ; the way of access to all the benefits temporal and spiritual of the Jewish religion was theirs ; as heathens, they were to be treated with uniform justice and tenderness ; as *proselytes* or *converts*, in all respects as brethren. I might, if I had time, and it were necessary, fully show you from the inspired volume, that, so far from magnifying the comforts and privileges of the bond servants, under the Mosaic economy, I have very much curtailed the list of their advantages. I might quote the laws which bound the Israelites, under the heaviest penalties, to observe a course of kindness to the slaves ; I might specify the arrangements made for their instruction and conversion. I might enumerate the threats and denunciations of God against their oppressors.

had any, and then, also, the execution of those threats in a variety of awful and premonitory instances; but I forbear, and earnestly recommend all present to peruse with care the first five books of the Old Testament, and mark what is written respecting 'strangers,' '*strangers within the gate,*' in contra-distinction to casual visitors,—**STRANGERS THAT SOJOURN AMONGST YOU,**—'*servants and bond-men,*' for under these five denominations are, I believe, included all the bond-servants among the Hebrews, save those of their own *nation*.

5th. Having noticed the source from whence the Jews obtained their slaves—and the mode of treatment to which they were subjected, I proceed to observe that *this* institution was by direct appointment of the Almighty, and appears to have been a *commutation* of a sentence of death originally pronounced upon the Canaanitish and Philistine nations, the previous possessors of the soil—let this be well remembered—the Divine head of the Jewish Theocracy, appointed, permitted, regulated, slavery. He was the God and Father and Legislator of the people of Israel. The God also of the heathen round about, though they knew him not—nor feared his name—remember, too, that he is a being above all law, save those eternal rules which are inseparable from his nature, that He is the source of law to the universe; that revealed codes are for man and not for God—and then, I think, you will perceive that slavery might exist among the Jews, and yet not furnish us with an example to be followed, nor do any thing towards establishing our right to be the holders of slaves. The appointment of slavery by God is one of the circumstances which justifies slavery—but the moment the sanction of God is withdrawn, the authority of man is at an end, and he is left to regulate his moral conduct by the revealed law, every violation of which is an offence against his Creator.

6th. It does not appear that to man was given a discretionary power to bring into bondage any portion of his fellow men—on the contrary—the most fearful punishments are assigned to those who are guilty of any infraction of the law in that respect. Had such a discretionary power been ever given—in the day when it was so given, the moral law would have been in effect annulled. In all cases, howev

er, the Jews were but agents, instruments, and ministers of vengeance in the hands of the Almighty, and were repeatedly chastised for assuming and exercising a power not delegated to them by their Supreme Head. The Jews, however, were showing their obedience as much in the destruction of the Canaanites as in the offering of appointed sacrifices—in the observance of arrangements regarding slavery, as in the performance of any religious service enjoined upon them. But what is the use made of the fact, that God commanded the enslavement of the Canaanitish nations? It is this—that *therefore* slavery is not sinful in the *abstract*, and *therefore* we may hold men in slavery and be guiltless. See, for a moment, where this would lead us. It would lead to the conclusion that the judgments and punishments which God has at any time commanded and authorised his own special people, his avowed and recognised servants, to inflict upon nations and individuals, may, in strict conformity with religion and morality, be inflicted by men upon their fellow-men at *any time*—at any place, and without any such authority or command. By the decree of the *Most High*, a father was commanded to sacrifice his son—Elijah was empowered to slay the false prophets, and the Israelites were enjoined to put to death some, and to enslave others of the idolatrous people whom they conquered in war, and, therefore, we have a moral and religious right to do any or similar things, *without* any similar warrant, sanction, or authority. Excellent logic! Excellent theology! To contend that the enslavement of men is not sinful from the circumstance of its having been permitted by God, in the case argued, is unreasonable, unscriptural, impious, and blasphemous.

Were the negroes of Western Africa in the same circumstances as the Canaanites?

Is the slavery in the West Indies like the slavery among the Jews? It is absurd and wicked to denote the two conditions by the same term. When light becomes darkness, and kindness becomes cruelty, and justice and mercy, injustice and oppression, then name them together, and not before, unless you be found guilty of upholding an abomination by the prostitution of the word of God.

Is Africa a land promised to us for a possession, and are we commanded to drive out and *utterly destroy its inhabitants*?

Has West India slavery the sanction of the Almighty? Can we demonstrate our right to exercise a discretionary power of enslaving our fellow-men?

If British colonial slavery was wrong in its commencement, can we show at which event, in the series connecting the first seizure with the present possession, the change from wrong to right took place? If, however, it is admitted that colonial slavery was wrong in its commencement, and is still an *evil* and a *sin*, what becomes of the '*abstract view*,' and from the deductions made from it? If it be argued that it must be done *gradually*—where is the scriptural proof?

Did God ever keep men in slavery to prepare them for freedom? Do not the Oracles of God declare, 'Live peaceably with all men. Revenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay it saith the Lord?' Are we, then, to put ourselves on an equality with God? Shall we

Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
Rejudge his justice, be the God of God?

Let these questions be pondered, let them be answered in the fear of God, and in reference to eternity.

I will not detain you—I might say, insult you, after the addresses I have already delivered in this town, by going into the views of Christianity on this subject. You require no proof to-night that the religion of Christ is a *religion of love*, and that it never has, it never can, sanction for a moment, so foul, so inhuman, so impious, and murderous a system as that of BRITISH WEST INDIA SLAVERY.

Mr. Thompson then proceeded to expose the various contradictions of his opponents,—proved the absolute necessity of IMMEDIATE emancipation—congratulated the meeting upon the view recently taken of the question by the leading daily journals in London, read a very powerful leading article from the *Morning Chronicle*, of Saturday, the 13th instant (which will be found at the conclusion of this outline,) and concluded as follows:—

And now I would humbly, but earnestly, call upon all present to join in this work of mercy, and labor of love.

Christian Ministers! I call first upon you; ye are

ambassadors for God—your God is a God of love, your mission a mission of mercy, your message a message of salvation—

By you the violated law speaks out
Its thunders, and by you, in strains as sweet
As angels use, the gospel whispers peace.

In the name of the law, which, by slavery, is dishonored, violated, and trampled in the dust; in the name of the gospel, whose precepts and provisions are by slavery and its abettors despised and rejected; in the name of that God—the giver of that law, and the author and finisher of that gospel of salvation—I call upon you to denounce this evil, to lift up your voice against it, to cry aloud and spare not until it ceases to ‘make merchandise of the bodies and the souls of men.’

Philanthropists!—lovers of mankind—I call upon you, ye who would raise the fallen, cheer the faint, who would lessen the amount of human wretchedness, who would wipe the weeping eye and gladden the sinking heart, who would that our wide-spread race should be a family of love,—join us in the cause of humanity: Oh, weep with the wretched mother who may not call her offspring her own; Oh, sympathise with those whom a cruel system would put beyond the pale of our constitution and our faith; let your best energies be given to this holy undertaking, nor slacken your endeavors until mercy shall prevail over cruelty, justice triumph over oppression and tyranny, and the lovely isles of the west, after ages and centuries of murder, oppression, and woe, shall become the abode of the happy and free peasant, and reverberate with the song of gladness, and the praises of the true and living God.

Patriots! Ye who love your country, to whom its honor, its character and independence are dear, unite with us to rid our beloved country from this foul curse; let not any portion of its greatness rest upon the degradation of its children; talk not of victory while this conquest remains to be achieved; boast not of our constitution whilst its benefits are withheld from the negro; let heroes seek for laurels upon the ensanguined plain, ‘let others strive to exalt their country’s greatness by advancing the arts, and adding to our stock of scientific knowledge, do ye unite

with us to win a bloodless triumph over your country's worst foes—the avarice, the despotism and impiety that would sink a nation's fame, and bring upon it the wrath of God, to gratify a lust of power, and add to the unhallowed wealth of the tormentor of his species.

I look around me, and I see many belonging to that community whose religious profession amounts almost to a pledge of devotion to this glorious cause. Need I say any thing to stimulate your zeal, and dispose you to act worthy your name and connexion; need I remind you of the struggles, the sacrifices and disinterested ardor of the Friends of past ages, and of the noble endeavors making by many amongst you at the present hour? No; I would fain believe that there is not one Friend here who is not self-devoted to the cause of negro emancipation. But still, suffer me to remind you, with all possible respect and love, that the present is a moment demanding even more than wonted zeal. I implore you, by the memory of a Woolman, and a Benezet, and every champion of this hallowed cause now gathered to his fathers, to aid us at the present juncture, with the full measure of your sympathy, your exertions, and your influence—so shall you see the dearest object of your hearts accomplished, and, instead of still mourning over the unredressed wrongs of an injured population, see peace and piety, and intellectual improvement, extending to the many colored tribes of the west, and the fruits of virtue, and knowledge, and religion appearing where only ignorance, and vice, and cruelty once reigned.

Come, then, ye lovers of peace—ye votaries of mercy—complete the work begun in ages past, by your uncompromising forefathers, and soon shall the shouts of ransomed thousands proclaim the field your own, and the sable child of your adoption, trampling on the rusting chains of his degradation, exclaim with beaming eye and with a bursting heart, 'NOW I am a man and a brother.'

Christians! I look with confidence towards you; yours is a religion of love, a religion of liberty; you know that the love of Christ in your own bosoms expands them to embrace all mankind,—you desire 'that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you;' you know that 'righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people;' you know that

'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams;' you know that it is written, 'If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold we knew it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? and shall he not render to every man according to his works?' Unite, then, with us to rid the nation and the earth of their most foul and guilt-contracting blot; let the remembrance of demolished temples, their ruins still upon the earth—of desecrated altars—of banished missionaries—of thousands of meek disciples of Christ, persecuted for their attachment to the truths of Christianity—let these recollections act upon your hearts, your consciences, your hands, your heads, and in your families, and in your congregations, and in the world be the champions of the distressed—despised, and almost destroyed—so shall the blessing of those who are ready to perish come upon you, and God, even your own God shall cause his face to shine upon you, and his richest consolations to inhabit your hearts.

And now, I ask, in this solemn hour, in this sacred place, upon this spirit-stirring and most interesting occasion—who in this assembly is willing to consecrate his service this night unto the Lord? Let all who feel the claims of human misery pressing upon their hearts, who wish to see the monster slavery expire beneath the hand of British Christian benevolence; let all who have trust in the omnipotence of truth, and confidence in the God of everlasting love; let all who now desire, and pray for, and would effectuate the instant, total, and eternal overthrow of the accursed system, and are waiting to build upon its ruins a temple of harmony, concord, peace and love, witness these their wishes and intentions, before heaven and the world, by holding up their hands. [The call was instantly responded to, and a forest of hands was uplifted.]

'Tis done, 'tis seen, it will be known, it will be recorded in heaven, and on earth; 'tis wise; 'tis well so to resolve—'tis still better to act on such resolutions. Patriots! Philanthropists! Christians of every name! Ministers of God! we are now ONE—this night beholds the renewal of our pledge, to wage a war of extermination with cruelty,

vice, and despotism in their strong hold. 'In the name of our God, let us set up our banner,' and inscribe upon it, 'Fiat justitia ruat coelum.' With this above our heads, let us proceed onwards to the battle—victory shall sit upon our helm, heaven shall smile upon our host, conquest shall crown our struggle, and mankind in future ages shall point to the abolition of colonial slavery, as the commencement of an era the most benign and brilliant the world has ever seen.

Mr. Thompson concluded his energetic, eloquent, and convincing address at a quarter past nine, amidst the enthusiastic plaudits of an enraptured audience. Throughout the whole of Mr. Thompson's lengthened observations, the most profound and breathless attention was manifested, interrupted only by the involuntary bursts of applause which the more splendid and heart-stirring portions of his able speech called forth. One feeling only seemed to pervade the vast assembly, and that, a feeling of hallowed devotion to the godlike cause of negro civilization and redemption. A deep conviction seemed to rest upon all, that the hour had arrived—an hour too long delayed—for the opening of the prison doors of the oppressed, and the political salvation of the deeply injured thousands of our enslaved population. No portion of the lecturer's remarks were more cordially responded to, than those which enforced the justice and necessity of immediate emancipation.

Mr. Thompson seemed considerably exhausted at the termination of his arduous but well-executed task. We understand that Mr. Thompson has received the most flattering invitations to visit the principal places in all the surrounding counties. We earnestly hope that his health may be spared to prosecute his valuable labors to a happy and glorious consummation.

NOTE.

[From the London Morning Chronicle, Sept. 1832.]

A Jamaica paper of the 1st of August has been received. In the absence of events, the bitter animosity against the Baptists and other sectarians may deserve a remark. Resolutions were moved and carried at a public meeting, to extirpate them, if possible, from the island; but notice had been given by the ATTORNEY GENERAL, that several of the resolutions were illegal. However, in order not to be intimidated, all the resolutions were unanimously passed, and among them, the following atrocious Declaration:—

‘ We, the undersigned, most solemnly declare, that we are resolved, at the hazard of our lives, not to suffer any Baptist or other sectarian preacher or teacher, or any person professedly belonging to those sects, to preach or to teach in any house in towns, or in any districts of the country where the influence of the Colonial Union extends; and this we do—maintaining the purest loyalty to his majesty king WILLIAM the fourth, as well as the highest veneration for the established religion, in defence of social order, and in strict conformity with the laws for the preservation of the public peace—to shield this portion of his majesty’s island of Jamaica against insurrection and future destruction.’

And this is a sample of what we may expect from the gradual amelioration scheme. The truth is, and it cannot be too often repeated, that the hostility of the West Indians against the Baptists and other sectarians is, that they perceived that they were in earnest to improve the negroes. Slavery is not susceptible of amelioration; for, in the degree in which the slave’s mind is enlarged, his dissatisfaction with his condition increases. There is no medium between abject prostration and complete emancipation. All the attempts to bolster up slavery, by protectors of slaves and otherwise, only make the matter worse, by weakening the authority of the masters over the slaves. The moment the slave ceases to be wholly and entirely in the power of the master, a source of jealousy between them springs up. We hold, therefore, that emancipation, full and complete, is the only way of settling the question.

The sectarians enjoy the confidence of the negroes, and

are deeply interested in their improvement. This is the head and front of their offending, in the eyes of the West Indians. But who are the sectarians? Including the serious part of the Church of England, it may be said that the sectarians are nine-tenths of the population of the country. They are determined, too, not to be trifled with. A man must, indeed, be unable to see the wood for trees, if he do not see, that the partisans of what the West Indians call sectarians, will introduce into the next Parliament a sufficient number of representatives, prepared to impose on the government the necessity of bringing the question of slavery to the only issue worthy of a moment's consideration—full and complete, and instant emancipation, leaving the question of compensation to be afterwards settled.

MR. THOMPSON'S SPEECH,

Delivered at the great Anti-Colonization Meeting, in Exeter Hall, London, July, 1833. James Cropper, Esq. in the Chair.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. in rising to move the second resolution said :

Sir, before I address myself immediately to the resolution which I have the honor to submit to this respectable meeting, I must claim permission to comment, for a moment, upon what I cannot but designate a cruel and heartless attempt to withdraw our minds from the contemplation of a vast amount of misery inflicted upon 2,000,000 of our fellow beings by the wickedness of man, by directing our attention to the existence of partial and home wretchedness which I am sure we all deplore, and are desirous of mitigating. (Hear, hear.) I will again remind the honorable gentleman (Mr. Hunt) who has acted this unworthy part of what he seems to have forgotten,—although pressed upon his observation year after year,—that the best friends of suffering humanity at home have ever been the warm and sympathetic friends of suffering humanity abroad. (Cheers.) If he will take his walks along the paths where benevolence and mercy love to linger, that they may minister comfort and assistance to the miserable, the destitute, and the bereaved, he will find those ministering spirits to be those who have been the readiest to devote their energies to the glorious work of universal emancipation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our honorable opponent has, on other occasions, committed the same offence against honor and good breeding. Instead of calling meetings of his own, to denounce the wrongs and wretchedness of our unfortunate factory children, and thus aiming to do the work he pretends to love, properly and efficiently, he satis-

bes himself with attending anti-slavery meetings, and seeking to divert the attention of the British public from the slavery in the West Indies or in the United States, by a reference to the oppressed circumstances of a portion of our juvenile population at home. (Hear, hear.) I must confess, I like not the man whose vision is so circumscribed that he cannot see or feel it to be his duty to send his regards beyond the narrow circle of his own neighborhood. Had he chosen the motto of our esteemed friend, Mr. GARRISON, 'My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind,' he would not have been found to-day among those who would thwart the honest and philanthropic purposes of our heart, nor have himself been doomed to see a resolution of his own unanimously discarded with indignation and disgust. (Loud cheers.) But the gentleman says he is the enemy of black slavery! Believe it—because he says so—but, that you may believe, it never glance at his deeds. Believe him for his *honor*; for actions he has none to shew, to prove his hatred of the deed. (Loud cheers.) Was it fair in that gentleman, ignorant as he is of the first principles of the great question upon which our minds are engaged,—ignorant of all the documents upon which we have proceeded,—to attempt to overthrow our proceedings? (Hear, hear.) Does he know that a week ago last Wednesday, a public meeting was held for the purpose of forming a British African Colonization Society, for the settlement of free persons of color or their descendants? Does he know, besides, that this meeting is convened for the purpose, amongst other things, of exposing the real object sought in the formation of that Society? I believe, Sir, the gentleman is utterly ignorant of all these matters; and I will therefore venture, with your permission, to inform him and this meeting, of the manner in which this bold and impudent trick was played off.

The Society I have referred to, proposes to be a **BRITISH** (mind! *British*) African Colonization Society, to effect the following purposes:—1st. To humanize and civilize the rude inhabitants of Western Africa and introduce commerce and the arts of polished life. 2nd. to extend the knowledge and influence of the Christian religion; and 3rdly. To effect the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Now, Sir, it is specially worthy of notice, that the per-

sons who, above all others, were most likely to feel a deep and lasting interest in the accomplishment of purposes so high and holy, as those which I have specified—if those purposes were to be achieved by holy and honorable means—were none of them invited to the meeting, otherwise than by an advertisement in the public papers. Nay, more—when a few of them appeared in the room where the meeting was held, though among them was one of the oldest, ablest and sincerest of the friends of Africa, Mr. MACAULAY, (cheers,) they were regarded as persons likely to frustrate the design of the projectors, and were designated, by the Chairman and others upon the platform, as factious disturbers. *Not one of the leading friends of Africa, or the abolition of slavery, was invited to take a part in the proceedings of that day*; though it was held at a time most favorable to their attendance, viz: when they were in London from all parts of the Kingdom, on purpose to watch the interests of the black man in the British Parliament. Who, then, called the meeting? *An American!* (Hear, hear.) Who ended that meeting? *An American!* What was the *real object* of that meeting, as disclosed in the last resolution? That England should co-operate with America in transporting her colored population.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM—No, not *transporting*.

Mr. THOMPSON—Sir, I readily grant the word *transportation* was not introduced; but there lies the wilful error—there is the deceitfulness of sin—there is the subtlety of Satan. (Loud cheers.) Now, Sir, when we consider that that meeting was called by *an American*—that from its proceedings were carefully excluded *every known and influential friend to the abolition of slavery and the civilization of Africa*—that when a few of the friends of Africa went to that meeting, they were treated as opponents—that those friends, without an exception, felt themselves constrained to oppose the proceedings of that meeting—and when, lastly, although the Chairman had again and again declared that it had *nothing whatever to do with the American Colonization Society*, the *only thing* absolutely proposed to be done by the Society was to *co-operate with the American Colonization Society*. I am quite sure that the whole affair will appear, in the eyes of a candid public, as a mean, dishonorable and impudent attempt to decoy the benevolent inhabitants of this country into copartner-

ship with a Society, whose principles are so unsound that whenever alluded to by myself on the day of the above meeting, I was invariably checked by the Chairman, and reproved for wandering from the object of the meeting.

My friend, the honorable member for Sheffield, (Mr. BUCKINGHAM,) must excuse me if I say, that the ground he has assigned for supporting this new Society was nothing like that of the gentleman behind me, (Mr. ABRAHAMS.) The latter gentleman's argument was all *cotton*. (A laugh.) Cotton was the Alpha and Omega of his speech. The planting of cotton trees in Africa is to work the destruction of slavery in the United States. (A laugh.) The argument of my friend, the member for Sheffield, is based upon the possibility of a superabundant free colored population in our own Colonies. Looking through the vista of future ages, he thinks he perceives it *possible* that there may be an overgrown population of blacks in our dependencies, and deems it exceedingly wise to found a British African Colonization Society in the year 1833, that three or four millions of years subsequently we may be able to send our redundant colored brethren to the land of their ancestors. (Loud laughter.) Now, to show how very early must be the arrival of that period when it will be necessary to transport—I beg your pardon—*induce* to emigrate, our free colored population, I may observe that in the island of Jamaica alone, with a population at present of 400,000 inhabitants, there are millions of acres which the axe has never cleared, which the spade has never delved, and which the industry and ingenuity of man have never made contributory to his wants. (Cheers.) There are, in our Colonies, resources of subsistence and wealth for a population infinitely larger than that which at present exists in them; and who so worthy to avail themselves of those resources as those who have either in their own persons, or the persons of their forefathers, endured the rigor of an unjust bondage for the wealth and aggrandizement of the whites? (Loud cheers.) It is well known that a great many of the horrors of slavery take their rise in the smallness of the slave population, which induces the needy and rapacious planter to overwork his slaves, and apply those coercive measures which have proved so fatal to their happiness, elevation and existence. (Hear, hear.) A West Indian gentleman, now upon this platform, is prepared to

show that the more rational plan would be to promote emigration from the United States to our Colonies, and that it is the climax of human absurdity to establish a Society for colonizing Africa, when years, ages, and centuries must elapse, ere we can hope to find colored men to give operation, and effort, and accomplishment to the scheme. (Hear, hear.)

What, then, is it our duty to do on this occasion? Why, to denounce the American Colonization Society as the enemy to the elevation and prosperity of the people of color in the United States—as the friend and supporter of Slavery. It is our duty to regard that Society as the hateful bantling of a fiend-like prejudice, and boldly to tell brother Jonathan that if he thinks, *by means of an agent with a face of brass*, to dupe us out of any more of our money, he is mistaken; that we will speedily send his base metal away, and keep our own precious coin for worthier and nobler purposes. (Laughter and cheers.)

A preceding speaker (Mr. ABRAHAM) has said that the principle of the Society is ‘voluntary emigration.’ Is he, then, ignorant that the honorable Mr. Broadnax of Virginia, rose in the House of Delegates of that State, and contended that force was absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of their object; and to talk of finding emigrants without compulsion was a gross absurdity? That this meeting may be in the possession of the views entertained by the people of color upon this subject, I will take the liberty of quoting their own words in various public meetings held throughout the United States. In Philadelphia, at a meeting held January, 1817, they thus speak:

‘Resolved, That we view with deep abhorrence the unmerited stigma attempted to be cast upon the reputation of the free people of color, by the promoters of this measure, “that they are a dangerous and useless part of community,” when in the state of disfranchisement in which they live, in the hour of danger they ceased to remember their wrongs, and rallied round the standard of their country.’

‘Resolved, That we never will separate ourselves *voluntarily* from the slave population of this country;’ (Cheers)—‘they are our brethren by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them, than in fancied advantages for a season.’ (Cheers.)

The free colored people of New York thus speak out their sentiments:

'Resolved, That we view the resolution, calling on the worshippers of Christ to assist in the unholy crusade against the colored population of this country, as totally at variance with true Christian principles.'

'Resolved, That we claim *this* country, the *place of our birth*, and *not* Africa, as our *mother country*, and all attempts to send us to Africa we consider gratuitous and uncalled for.' (Cheers.)

Sir, the gentleman who has this day spoken in favor of the Colonization Society, has more than once called himself one of the descendants of Abraham. Now, Sir, we all know that his brethren in this country labor under many and heavy disabilities, and that at this moment strenuous efforts are being made in the the House of Commons to effect their civil emancipation; efforts, which I hope and trust may be crowned with complete success. But, Sir, what would that descendant of Abraham think of me, if, instead of giving my voice and vote to raise them to their rightful station in this the land of their nativity, I were to address myself to his injured brethren and to him, and say, 'You are a dangerous and useless part of community—this is not your *home* or *country*—away to the deserts of Arabia, or the mountains of Palestine—there, in the land of your ancestors, be free and happy—or pine and perish, for you shall not pollute these shores,'—and then, were to come forward, and claim the regard of my countrymen and mankind for having done an act of enlightened justice and humanity? (Loud cheers.)

What are the sentiments of the colored inhabitants of Boston? Hear them:

'Resolved, That we consider the land in which we were born, and in which we have been bred, our only 'true and appropriate home'—and that when we desire to remove, we will apprise the public of the same in due season.' (Cheers.)

I am rejoiced, Sir, to find my countrymen respond so warmly to sentiments like these. Such language as I have read, is the true and natural language of reason, patriotism and independence; and he who cannot approve such language, is a being who loves liberty only as the instrument of tyranny, and deserves to lose the blessing which his selfishness and hateful despotism will not allow him to share with those around him. (Loud cheers.)

What say the inhabitants of New-Haven ?

' Resolved, That we will resist all attempts made for our removal to the torrid shores of Africa, and will sooner suffer every drop of blood to be taken from our veins than submit to such unrighteous treatment.' (Cheers.)

' Resolved, That we know of no other place that we can call our true and appropriate home excepting these United States, into which our fathers were brought, who enriched the country by their toils, and fought, bled and died in its defence, and left us in its possession—and here we will live and die.' (Cheers)

The removal of these colored persons has, however, been justified this day by our friend, the descendant of Abraham, on the ground that they are sent as missionaries to a land of heathen darkness, that they may spread the light and sanctity of our divine Christianity. But is it the fact that the Colonization Society is in the habit of transporting missionaries by ship loads to Africa? A letter from J. MECHLIN, Esq., Governor of Liberia, to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary to the American Colonization Society, will illustrate this part of the subject. I extracted it from No. 94 of the African Repository, Vol. 8, for December, 1832. The Letter is dated LIBERIA, September, 1832.

' With respect to the character of the people composing this expedition,* I regret to be compelled to state, that they are, with the exception of those from Washington, the family of Pages and a few others, *the poorest and most abandoned of their class*. From such materials it is vain to expect that an industrious, intelligent and enterprising community, can possibly be formed; the thing is *utterly impossible*, and they cannot but retard instead of advancing the prosperity of the colony. I have noticed this subject in one of my former communications, and nothing but a thorough conviction that such an influx of vagrants cannot fail of blasting the hopes which our friends have so long and so ardently cherished, could have induced me again to advert to it.

I am induced to be thus unreserved in my remarks, as it is from the sufferings of people of this stamp, occasioned by their own indolence and stupidity, that the slanderous reports published in the Liberator have originated; they have never, when in the United States, voluntarily labored for their own support, and now, when the stimulus of the overseer's lash is removed, cannot be induced to exert themselves sufficiently to procure even a scanty subsistence. Indeed, so far from there being any real grounds for the assertions of our enemies, I am at this moment issuing rations to at least one hundred persons, whose six months have expired. Some of these have been prevented by sickness from attending to their farm; the crops of others are not sufficiently advanced to afford them a subsistence; but by far the greater number are women and children, who have been sent out without any male person to provide for them; and being unable to gain a

* Viz: 128 emigrants in the brig America, 15th of September, 1832.

livelihood by tilling the soil or any other occupation, have become a burthen to the Agency. Many in the present expedition are similarly circumstanced, and what to do with them I know not. Our respectable colonists themselves are becoming alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months; and almost daily representations are made by those who have applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, of the *depredations* committed on their crops by the above described class of people, who cannot be induced to labor for their own support.³

Now, Sir, much has been said, both here and elsewhere, of the vast number of *intelligent, enterprising and religious* persons of color *willing* to go to Liberia; and it has, with equal confidence, been asserted that funds only were wanting to enable the managers of the American Colonization Society to make a selection of persons fully qualified to enter, with every prospect of success, upon the great work of civilizing and evangelizing Africa. It appears that during the years 1831 and 1832, efforts were made to ship off a more than ordinary number of emigrants, and that the object was accomplished. But, Sir, were the persons so sent, such as have been all along described as *willing* to go? Do they answer the description this day given of those missionary colonists, who are to prove such a blessing to Africa? No. The Governor describes them as '*the lowest and most abandoned of their class*'—an '*influx of vagrants*'—'*indolent and stupid*'—'*the greater number women and children, without any male person to provide for them.*' He declares that '*the colonists are alarmed at the great number of ignorant and abandoned characters that have arrived within the last twelve months*'—and speaks of '*daily depredations*' committed by such persons upon the crops of the industrious. Now, Sir, what is the plain inference from these authoritative statements? It is one of the following—either that there is no large portion of intelligent and religious persons of color to go, and that, therefore, the representations given upon that subject are false—or that the managers and auxiliaries of this Society cannot discriminate between the good and the bad; between those who are likely to '*retard the interests of the Colony,*' and those who are qualified to '*advance them*'—or, that they have wickedly and wilfully poured upon the infant colony a flood of moral corruption, threatening its very existence, as an industrious and well con-

ducted settlement. I leave the defenders of the Colonization scheme to choose between these natural and necessary conclusions from the accounts of their Governor, and their own authorized statements. (Loud cheers.) Again, Sir; the Editor of the African Repository, in introducing Governor Mechlin's letter, observes, respecting the expedition of the American :—' We regret to learn that, in the opinion of the colonial agent, they are little qualified to add strength and character to the Colony; but,' he adds, 'those who are now to embark are among the best of our colored population.' Now, Sir, admitting that the next ship-load be of this description, I contend that both in principle and policy, such a line of conduct is bad. If they really be among 'the best of the colored population,' why are they, by oppression and unjust treatment, made willing to go? Why are they not encouraged and made happy on their native soil? As a course of policy, such a proceeding is monstrous. Why send the salt away? Is it because they desire to keep an unmixed mass of putridity at home? Cannot these 'best' portions of their colored population be beneficially employed at home? Ought they not to be employed? But the language of their actions is this—' We seek not the elevation of the blacks at home. We care not a rush for the improvement of our two millions of slaves amongst us—we rather wish that they should remain wretched and debased, that we may the more securely rivet upon them the chain of a soul-degrading, man-dishonoring, God-defying despotism. Show us an illuminated negro, and away he goes to Liberia!—Show us the sublime and noble sight of a black man struggling into political existence, and away he goes to bless Liberia. Show us the spectacle of one who looks around upon his colored brethren in bonds, with a burning desire to be their liberator, and away with him to the regions of Liberia! This is not the land for illuminated minds, unless they tenant white bodies. This is not the land for struggles in the cause of liberty, unless it be liberty for the whites. This is not the land for burning desires, and pantings after deeds of deathless fame, unless felt and performed by white skinned men. Away with all such colored men to Africa! There let them burn, and shine, and struggle, and contend; for here they shall have no

abiding city. We will cast into their cup the bitterness of scorn and persecution, and calumny and reproach, until nature recoils at the gally draught, and they cry in the anguish of their spirits—' *We are willing to go to Liberia!*'

The Colonization Society of America has been described, by its Agent in this country, as an abolition Society, and the people of America have been described as generally friendly to the extinction of slavery. Let us see how far they prove the Agent's assertions. Do their documents confirm such a statement? No! They utterly deny its truth, and declare that slave property is held by a Colonizationist to be as sacred as any other description of property. Do they show their hatred of slavery by countenancing the New-England Anti-Slavery Society? Do they encourage and speak well of its managers and agents? No! They are striving, by every possible engine which malice can devise, to crush that Society, because it proceeds upon the christian principle, that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us.

Again: the Colonizationists wish to exempt themselves from the charge of having an unchristian prejudice against color, whilst they justify their proceedings, by asserting the existence of such a prejudice to a very wide extent. Let us see how far they are consistent. For ask them, if this same prejudice cannot be conquered, and they tell you, 'No—it possesses nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' You ask them, who are the friends of the Colonization Society? and they tell you 'Nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants.' (Cheers.) I leave their friend here to extricate them from the charge of being themselves the fosterers of that diabolical prejudice in which has originated, and by which is perpetuated, the degradation of the colored population. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me, Sir, briefly to refer to a portion of a very eloquent speech delivered by the Rev. Mr. HAMMET, at the American Colonization Society's 16th annual meeting: a quotation which I think will throw considerable light upon the views of the principal supporters of that Society. Mark what he says of the prejudice which exists, and of the consequent condition of the people of color!

'The evil which this Society proposes to remedy has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day. That class of the community to whom it affords succor, though nominally free, can in fact never be so in this country. A gloom hangs over them through which they can never hope to penetrate, and they groan under a weight of prejudice, from which they can never expect to rise.'

'Indeed, Mr. Hammet! We thank you for your honest truth. 'Nominally free.' Must not '*expect*' or '*hope* to rise.' Base, hypocritical, republican America, to trample on your boasted Declaration of Independence, and wrap in impenetrable gloom the spirit of the man, you have declared to be equally entitled with yourself to liberty and the pursuit of happiness! Speaking of the patronage the Society enjoys, he says :

'In almost every State of this Union, the great body of the people are awakening to a sense of the vast importance of this undertaking,' &c. &c.—'and, Sir, the whole religious community of this widely extended republic have declared it worthy their confidence, and have resolved, in their solemn assemblies, to give it their support.'

Had I been present, I would have asked this Rev. Colonizationist, whether the whole religious community might not be better employed in praying to be divested of their prejudice, and in seeking to uproot it from American society? I would have asked him, if he had not himself proved that the 'gloom,' and 'weight,' and 'prejudice,' and 'nominal freedom,' under all of which the people of color groan and despair, were attributable to the whole religious community, thus found patronizing the Colonization Society? He further says:—'No individual effort, no system of legislation, can in this country redeem them from this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man. It is utterly vain to expect it,' &c.

Again—'AT HOME AMONGST US, scarcely to be controlled by law, or elevated by religion.' (!!!!) Monstrous assertion! and impudent as monstrous! and impious as it is impudent! How could the speaker utter a sentiment so disgraceful to his country, and so libellous upon his faith, without a burning cheek and a faltering tongue? 'At home amongst us.' Do not these words brand, as hypocritical and base, all the professions of piety and philanthropy made by the persecuting members of the Colonization Society? Not only do they confess their own determination to cherish this hellish feeling—not only do

they deny the power of legislation to help these people, but actually deny the power of religion to fit them for the privileges of freemen. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ABRAHAM.—I deny that it is beyond the power of religion to do it.

Mr. THOMPSON.—Sir, you do well to acquit yourself of any participation in this blasphemous calumny; but remember that Mr. Hammet said so in defence of the Colonization Society; therefore, strike him off the list of your friends. (Cheers.) And know, also, that the sentiment was uttered with applause in a very large and crowded meeting of the friends of the Society; therefore, strike them off your list of friends. (Cheers.) And know, still further, that 20,000 copies of this speech have been circulated by that Society, and still remains uncontradicted by any friend of the Society but yourself; therefore, free yourself at once from the unholy confederacy, and enrol your name amongst the friends of universal liberty. (Loud cheers.) But although Mr. Hammet denies that they can rise in their native country, he maintains that it is only necessary that they should be sent to Africa, to become every thing that is noble and useful. Aladdin's lamp has been spoken of to-day; but, in my opinion, the change effected upon the characters of these colored people, by a voyage to Africa, is even more wonderful than the exploits of this Hero of Arabian romance. Nothing is necessary but that these 'pests of society,' these 'nuisances,' should be placed on board a Colonization packet, and, '*presto!*' they become artizans, statesmen, philosophers and christians. (Loud applause.)

'Transported to Africa,' says the Rev. Mr. Hammet, 'we there behold a class of beings who, at home amongst us, could scarcely be controlled by law or elevated by religion, suddenly springing into honorable notice; cultivating among themselves all the arts of civilized life, and securing to their families all the blessings of well ordered society. Every day's intelligence only reiterates what we have heard from the beginning—that peace harmony and contentment are abounding.'

Then all the elements of civilization, all the elements of harmony, all the elements of contentment, every thing that lifts man from a state of degradation, must be shipped off from America; for there these elements are at war with peace and contentment, and produce wretchedness; and

the native intellectual greatness which raises the man in Liberia, sinks him to the condition of a brute in the first republic of the world. (Loud applause.)

'Schools are established,' continues the Rev. gentleman, (but are there none in America?) 'churches are erected, the mechanic arts are cultivated, agriculture is promoted, and commerce even with foreign nations has already been embarked in; and by whom, Sir? By a class of beings who, while here, hung a dead weight upon the skirts of the country. Sir, with the sublimity and grandeur of the spectacle and prospect before us, calculation itself can hardly keep pace.' (Laughter and cheers.)

If ever there was a piece of self-contradiction, it is this extract; if ever there was a man who belied religion, who belied human nature, who made transcendent capabilities a reason for banishing men from their native land, Mr. Hammet has been guilty of it in the passage I have read. (Cheers.) But can these free people of color be elevated by religion? At Liberia, the Rev. gentleman adds, 'the Christian, too, has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' In America, they contend that religion has not this elevating power; but here, in Liberia, 'the Christian has much to animate his hopes and stimulate his zeal.' An immense field, 'already white to the harvest,' opens before him. The missionary of the cross shall enter there, bearing to perishing thousands the 'Bread of Life.' O, what cant and hypocrisy is this! What an insult to the religion that he was lauding. He was obliged to contend, at one moment, that it could not help the black man among his white, christianized, high professing brethren of America; but in the wilds of Africa, amidst beasts and savages, it could make him a man, a philosopher, and a Christian. (Loud cheers.)

'Africa will receive him; churches will be reared; presses will be established; the scriptures shall be circulated; and the darkness of ages, retiring like the shades of night at the approach of the morning sun, shall be finally scattered by the effulgent blaze of divine truth. Yes, Sir, (thus ends his speech,) 'superstition shall be broken down, false philosophy shall be confounded, heathen oracles shall be struck dumb. "The altar and the god shall sink together to the dust" and Africa shall come forth, "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."'

Yes, and when Africa shall thus arise in might and majesty; when Christianity shall have made her all that is noble; even then she shall say, 'The prejudice that sent forth the missionaries to our country was cruel, anti-christian, inhuman and diabolical.' (Loud cheers.)

What are you called for together to-day ? To countenance WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the dauntless, the talented, the uncompromising, the pledged, the devoted friend of the free persons of color and of slaves in the United States. Let others, with their narrow views, frown in the cruelty of their scorn upon a meeting like this ; but be it yours to welcome, from the regions of America, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who is fighting the same battle as yourselves. Be it yours to cheer his heart ; be it yours to countenance his efforts ; be it yours to send him back fortified with your blessings and your prayers ; be it yours to hold up his hand amidst these convicted flesh-mongers and kidnappers of their species. (Cheers.)

Mr. GARRISON has happily succeed in establishing, with no small pains, with no small sacrifice, an Anti-Slavery Society in Boston. What are the motives of the Society he has established ? My resolution comes to these, and therefore I will take the liberty of troubling you with them. The whole affair is almost new to a British audience and therefore I will just lay before you, in two or three sentences, the motives of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as avowed in their First Annual Report.

Their motives 'are not motives of hostility to the interests or the persons of slave-owners.' Then they go on to say that their desire is to do good to the slave-owner as well as the black ; whilst they expose the injustice of one man holding property in another. Their motives in the second place, are not those of a party character ; they are associated together 'to maintain, not to destroy the Union, by endeavoring to remove the cause of division.' Their motive, in the third place, is 'to tolerate no compromise of principle.' There is no truckling to narrow-sighted expediency ; no attempt to empty the ocean, by putting into it the buckets of Colonization philanthropy. Their 'demands upon the holders of slaves are as imperative as those of the book of inspiration : to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free. (Cheers.) 'The purposes of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, as declared in the second article of its Constitution, are to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery, to improve the character and condition of the free

people of color, inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.'

Then, Sir, in another part of this document, (the First Annual Report of the Society,) they go on to say what they mean by immediate abolition. 'It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle.

'It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law.

'It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children, shall belong to their parents.

'It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment.

'It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away.

'It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination.

'It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages.

'It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others, by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men.

'It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism.'

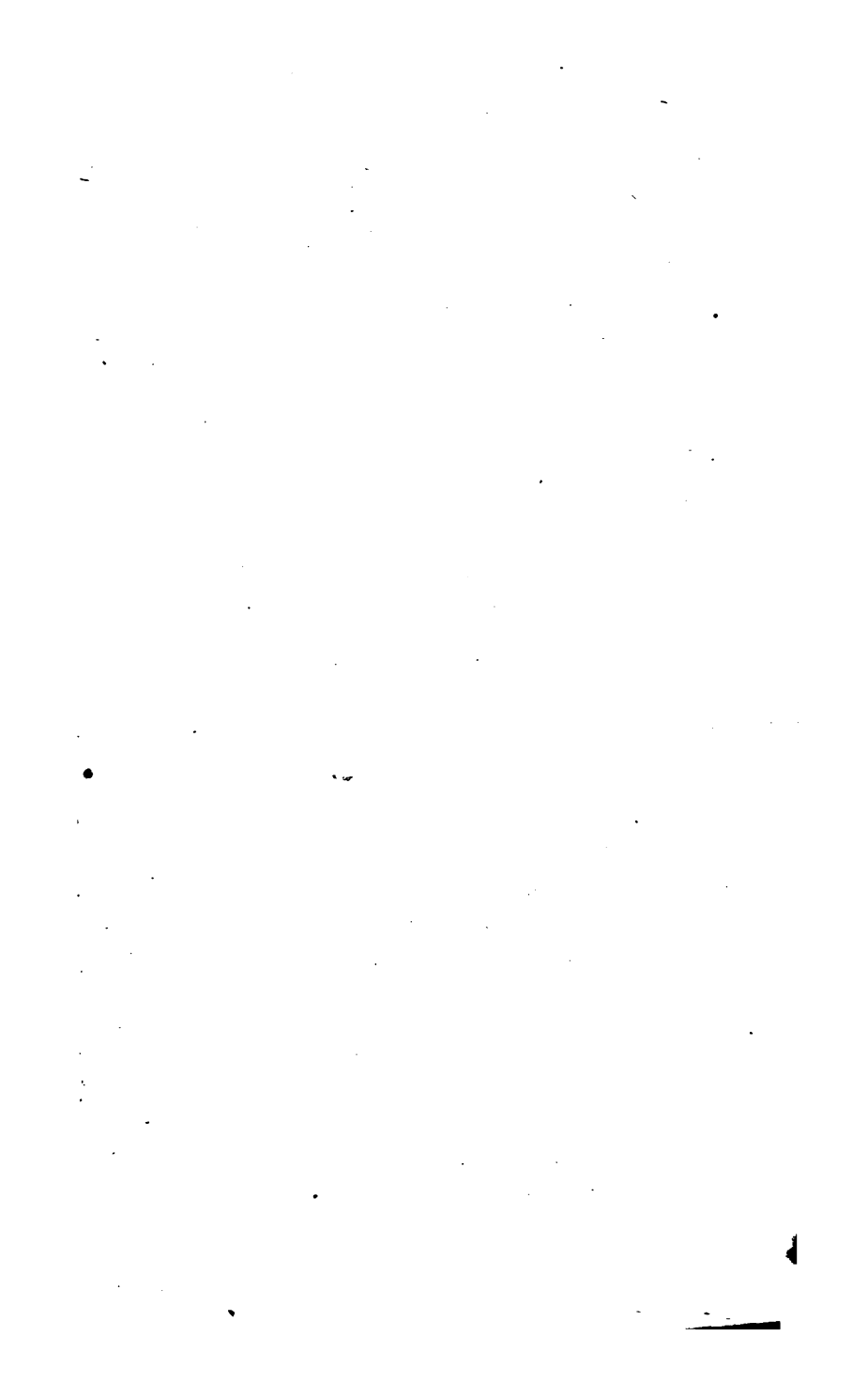
Then the benefits are stated, which would result from the adoption of this righteous procedure.

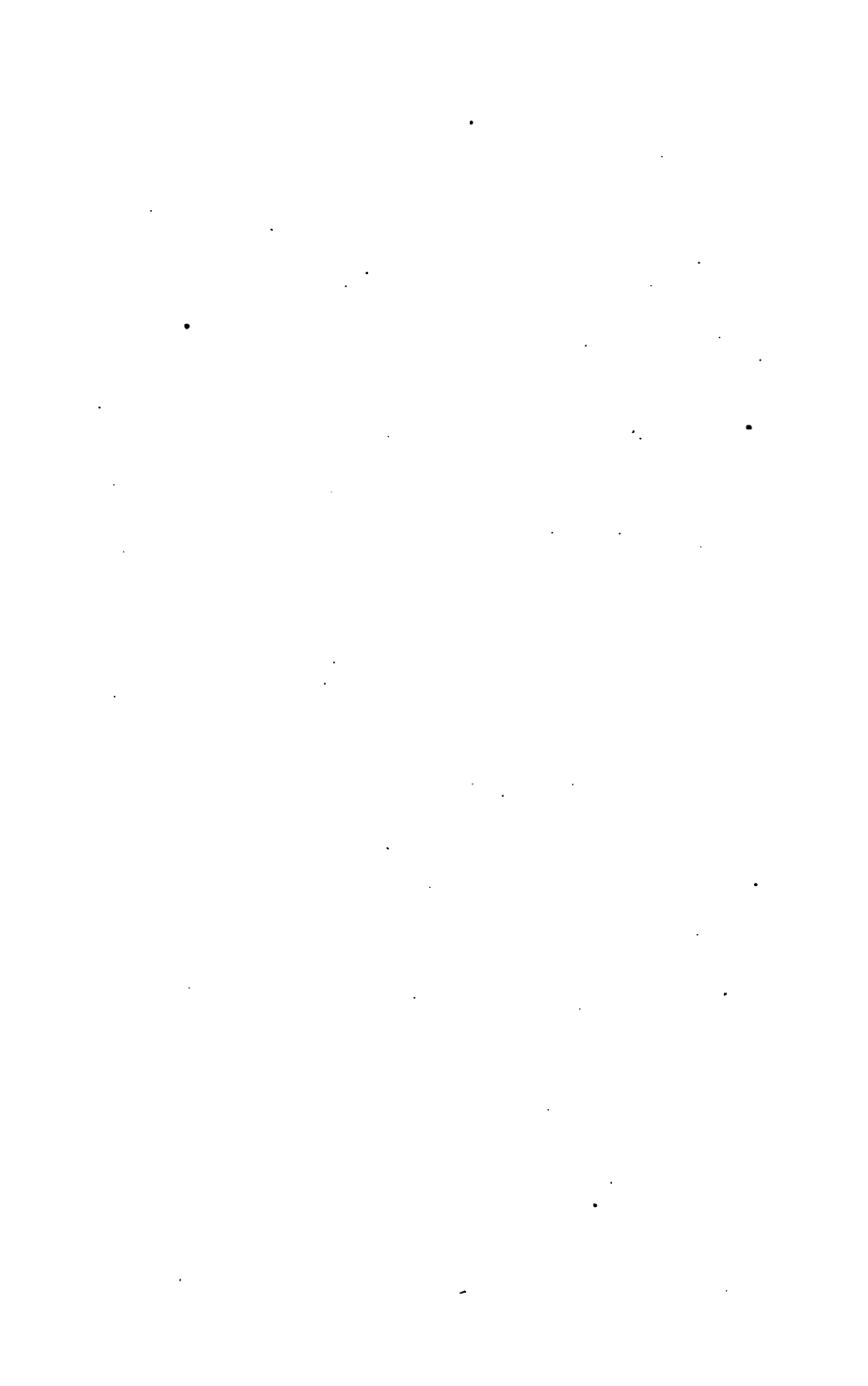
Having thus endeavored to show the wickedness, the absurdity of the Colonization Society; having in the second place endeavored, though feebly, to do justice to the motives and the conduct of Mr. GARRISON; having laid before you the principles of the Society which he has had the honor to found; I have now to move a resolution, which will claim your sympathy on behalf of this gentleman, and which will go to foster and cherish the Society with which he is connected. The resolution is as follow:

‘Resolved, That the colored people of the United States, fully aware that the object of the American Colonization Society is not their improvement and happiness, have declared their detestation of it in the most solemn and public manner;—that that oppressed people have our heart-felt sympathy;—and that the principles and efforts of their advocates, the Anti-Slavery Society of New-England, have our cordial approbation.’

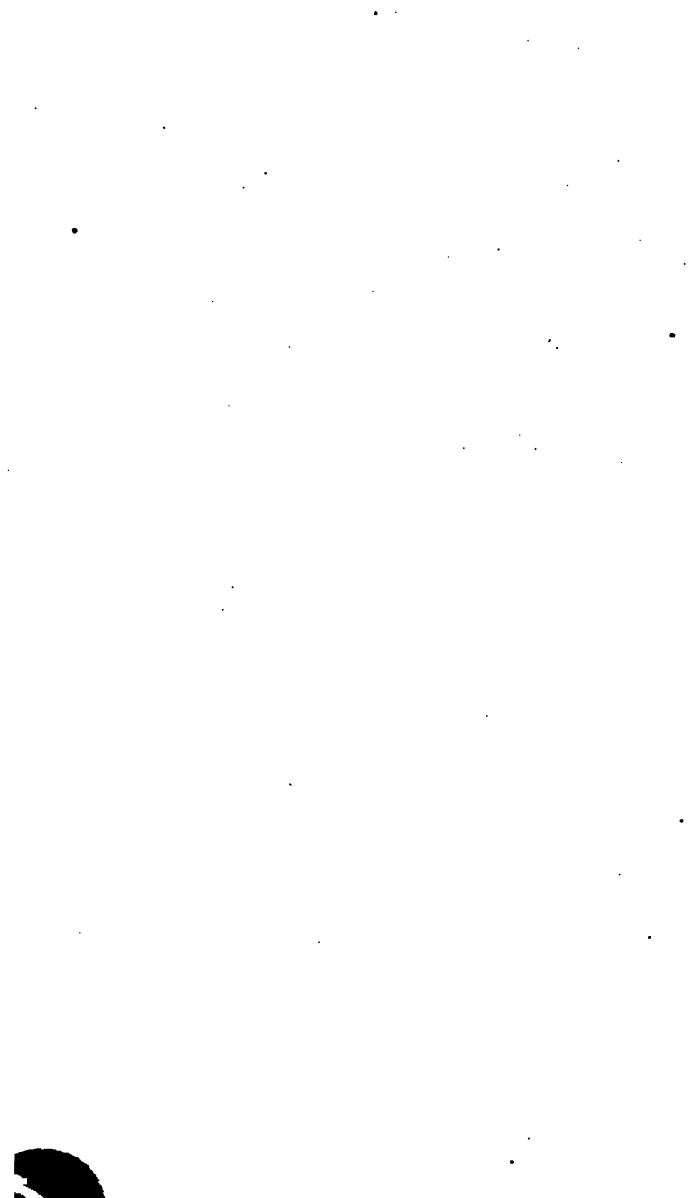
I trust that this resolution will pass unanimously. I know that all opposition will be fruitless and contemptible. I know that it will but elicit your disgust—though disgust is sometimes more acceptable to certain persons than no notice at all; but, at all events, I know that I shall have a large majority in favor of the resolution. If there be any one present who does not approve of it, let him move an amendment. (Long and continued cheering.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

















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